FBIS DAILY REPORT

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HUNGARY BLAMES IMPERIALISTS, URGES GENUINE TALKS

LD121852 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Geneva, July 12 (MTI) -- Ambassador David Meiszter, head of the Hungarian delegation, made a contribution to the Thursday session of the Geneva conference on disarmament.

The Hungarian ambassador stated that due to unfavourable international developments and the unceasing attempts of extreme imperialist circles, there was still no opportunity to start genuine talks on the most pressing issues. David Meiszter recalled that the socialist states have made several initiatives and proposals which could be considered suitable for breaking the stalemate of talks. "It is the firm conviction of the Hungarian Government that there is no international problem which could not be settled through constructive and sincere talks," he said.

David Meiszter urged the taking of measures which help ease tension, improve the political atmosphere, increase mutual confidence and strengthen the chances of preserving peace.

The Hungarian ambassador recalled that the call of the foreign ministerial conference of the Warsaw Treaty member states in early May started from this consideration when it urged the NATO member states to start talks and conclude an agreement as soon as possible on renouncing the use of force, and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

CHNOUPEK ON COUNTERMEASURES SUPPORT, CSCE, MBFR

PM130834 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Jul 84 p 11

[Interview with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek by Disa Hastad: "Popular Support for New Missiles"]

[Excerpt] Prague, 6 Jul -- Bohuslav Chnoupek, 59, is a sun-tanned and urbane gentleman. He is said to be the government member with the closest ties to Moscow and to prefer to speak Russian -- even though he is also able to handle other languages.

In Chnoupek's homeland, Slovakia, the Catholic church is strong. DAGENS NYHETER asked him if he still has any feeling for the church. He dismissed the question with a joke and answered the question of whether a papal visit to Czechoslovakia is likely with a definite "no."

It is reported that Catholics have signed petitions to persuade the pope, who visits many countries, to visit Czechoslovakia at some time. However, the foreign minister said that he knew nothing about the petitions and he did not want to specify whether the pope has expressed any dissatisfaction with the rights of the church and his co-religionists in Czechoslovakia.

The foreign minister wanted more to talk about the Swedish visit [by Foreign Minister Bodstrom, 4-6 July]. DAGENS NYHETER received written answers to its questions.

Hastad: Do you think that relations between Sweden and Czechoslovakia are better now th they were a few years ago? Do you view the Swedish Foreign Minister's visit as a result of this?

Chnoupek: Czechoslovakia is exerting itself to improve relations in all fields. We are therefore happy that after a period of some stagnation we have succeeded in setting in motion a fruitful dialogue with Sweden at government and parliamentary level.

Hastad: What is your view of the Stockholm conference? Has Czechoslovakia any proposals of its own to advance there in order to make a contribution to peace and detente in Europe?

Chnoupek: Czechoslovakia considers that the Stockholm conference has every chance of becoming an important contribution to the process of detente.

We attach the greatest importance to the significant proposal for a reciprocal renunciation of force which was given concrete form at the Warsaw Pact meeting in Prague in January last year. But the mere fact that these negotiations have begun shows a real will to preserve peace.

Hastad: Could you say something about the reactions in Czechoslovakia for and against the installation of missiles in Europe, including those now being deployed in Czechoslovakia?

Chnoupek: We have openly declared that we cannot remain indifferent to the deployment of the new U.S. missiles. The United States has not reacted to any of our initiatives for limitations on nuclear arms in Europe but has begun to deploy its missiles.

So as a result of this new situation we -- like our friends in the GDR -- have been forced to agree to install missile complexes on our territory intended for tactical operational use.

These countermeasures have been met with understanding by our citizens. This is natural because we in Czechoslovakia, a country which in the present century has experienced two destructive world wars, cannot remain indifferent to this growing threat. On our own densely populated territory the effects of a nuclear attack would be twice as great. Therefore we cannot stand unprepared and open to attack, just because we know that it only takes a few tenths of a second for U.S. missiles from Mutlangen to reach here.

Hastad: How do you view today the MBFR negotiations in Vienna?

Chnoupek: Together with the other socialist states we have put forward a whole complex of proposals at the Vienna negotiations. We expect the West to undertake a reassessment of its hitherto rigid viewpoints, adopt a constructive approach, and give a businesslike answer to the Warsaw Pact's initiatives. However, as yet nothing of the kind has happened.

Hastad: Which task, the military or the political, do you consider to be most important for the Warsaw Pact -- and for NATO?

Chnoupek: The time that has elapsed since the Warsaw Pact was created in 1955 -- as a response to the creation of NATO in 1949 -- gives a persuasive demonstration of what an influential and positive task it has in both European and international affairs, especially the fact that it functions through a top-level body -- the Political Consultative Committee -- all of whose meetings hitherto have provided significant proposals for solutions to current international problems and the strengthening of peace.

For more than 29 years the Warsaw Pact nations have not taken a single foreign policy step which has complicated the international situation in Europe and the world and have never threatened anyone, either politically or militarily.

By implementing their peace strategy the socialist countries do not want to achieve one-sided advantages.

However, they are forced to preserve their defense potential at the necessary level so that no one will be tempted to use arms to resolve the historical struggle between socialism and capitalism.

CSSR PANEL VIEWS STRATEGIC BALANCE, EUROMISSILES

LD121408 [Editorial Report] Prague Television in Czech and Slovak at 1800 GMT on 11 July carries a 40-minute round-table program entitled "Who Is Against Disarmament?" An unidentified panel chairman and two publicists, Karel Kvapil and Josef Hora, discuss current disarmament problems caused by the NATO decision to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe. At the outset they define what is meant by strategic balance, how it came about, and what has upset it. They talk about an approximate balance, in which an advantage in one kind of weaponry is balanced by a disadvantage in another kind. Since 1946, they say, the Soviet Union has been consistently pursuing a policy seeking to ban nuclear weapons. Until 1969, when a balance was achieved for the first time, the Soviet Union always had to react to advances and innovations made by the United States in the development of its nuclear arsenal and was always forced to catch up. The achievement of the strategic balance was recognized by the SALT treaties as well as by various independent bodies, such as the Stockholm Peace Institute, the panelists note.

According to Kvapil and Hora, the SALT II Treaty established strategic balance, and balance in medium-range missiles was to have been included in the SALT III Treaty. In the meantime, they continue, NATO adopted its "two-track" policy, always regarded by the United States as a single-track decision, aimed at deploying medium-range missiles in Western Europe with the purpose of achieving first-strike surprise capabilities. The panelists observe that the maximum flight of a Pershing II missile from West Germany to the Soviet Union is only 8 minutes, from Mutlangen to Prague only 2 to 3 minutes. That is why, they say, one hears in the United States about the "decapitation" of the Soviet Union -- that is, the elimination of its command -- by such a surprise attack, which would then enable the strategic weapons stationed in the United States, with a flight-time of about 30 minutes, to come into play. They also point out that this deployment runs counter to the 1963 post-Cuban crisis agreement in which both sides pledged not to deploy missiles on the territories of their allies that could be used to hit targets in both countries. All this has been masked, the panelists add, by propaganda talk about the so-called Euromissiles, as if they were European. Moreover, both French and British nuclear forces, along with seaborne nuclear forces, have been ignored.

Kvapil and Hora state that the Soviet Union has gone to the maximum at the Geneva talks. The new medium-range missiles are designed to maintain and reaffirm NATO's flexible response strategy, which in effect means a first-strike strategy. In fact, they add, the United States and its NATO allies have not achieved the superiority they sought by deploying medium-range missiles. This is because the Soviet Union has always said that it would have to take countermeasures to restore the balance of forces. "This balance of forces is a great achievement of socialism, and it would be very naive to think that the Soviet Union, after achieving a balance from the position of great imbalance in which it was after World War II, would permit this balance to be upset," they continue. On the other hand, the United States wants to upset this balance because it was found that when there is a balance of forces, it is unable to realize its plans for world domination.

Looking at this problem from Western Europe's eyes, say the panelists, Western Europe is not only less secure following the deployment of medium-range missiles but, because the nuclear threshold has been reduced, the risk has increased. They continue: There is now talk of the possibility of a failure of the so-called human factor, which would be disastrous in view of the short flight of the new missiles. Even Schmidt the former West German chancellor, privately attacked the "two-track" decision, although he had signed it.

The panel chairman introduces Dr Zdenek Dienstbier, who attended the recent "Physicians Against Nuclear Arms" conference in Helsinki. Dr Dienstbier outlines the disastrous consequences for mankind of a global nuclear war as well as the effect of armaments on people's psychoses.

Then the panel discussion continues. To back up the deployment of new missiles in Western Europe, it is said, NATO has embarked on a large-scale propaganda campaign of crude anticommunism and antisocialism directed by a special staff created for this purpose in NATO headquarters. In order to deceive people and undermine the peace movement, this propaganda includes the so-called theory of equal responsibility, according to the panelists. They add: When the Soviet Union proposed to reduce its missiles to the level of the French and British taken together, the United States, in order to torpedo this proposal, staged a provocation involving the South Korean airliner. This staged incident spurred reactionary circles in the United States to mount a hateful campaign calling for banning the Soviet Union from the Los Angeles Olympics. Under the circumstances, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had no other option but to refuse to attend the summer Olympics.

In addition, the United States is strengthening the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military axis and encouraging Japan in her territorial claims, the commentators continues; this is part of the years-long policy of achieving the encirclement of the Soviet Union.

According to the panelists, the current U.S. militaristic policy is receiving the full backing of the country's industrial-military complex and the monopolies, whose morality is dubious. They cooperated with German industrial concerns before the war, under Hitler. The panelists note that Reagan was employed at one stage by the General Electric Company.

The panelists state that the question that should have been asked, therefore, is "Who Is Against Armaments?" The latest CEMA summit demonstrated once again to the whole world that the socialist countries are the mainstay of the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the halting of the dangerous expansionist policy, which the United States is trying to impose on the world, the panelists observe, adding that in this they are not alone; they are supported by the developing countries and backed by the peace and progressive movement in the West. Although the peace movement suffered a tactical defeat by the deployment of the first-strike American nuclear weapons in Western Europe, it has not disintegrated, as its enemies hoped. It still has as its long-term strategic aim the elimination of nuclear weapons. Thus the socialist countries are not alone, the commentators conclude.

GDR ENVOY: IMPERIALIST CONFRONTATION THWARTS CSCE

LD122204 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] At the end of the second round of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe Heinz Hut conducted the following interview with Ambassador Dr Guenter Buehring, the head of the GDR delegation:

[Begin recording] [Hut] Mr Ambassador, the second round of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe ended a few days ago. What is the concern of the GDR and the other statesof the socialist community at this conference?

[Buehring] Our concern is -- and this has been repeatedly emphasized by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman -- to use the Stockholm conference in the face of the exacerbated international situation in order to lessen military confrontation and to make international relations more predictable again.

Above all, the objective is to limit by means of concrete measures, the damage caused by the deployment of the United States first-strike weapons in West Europe, in order to prevent a nuclear war and to set genuine signals for a change to the better in East-West relations. The proposals put forth by Comrade Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, at the opening session of the Stockholm conference on 17 January, which provided political measures binding in international law as well as military measures for the building of confidence and security, correspond to these ideas. Proceeding from this, the GDR delegation supported the document submitted by the Soviet Union at the start of the second round on 8 May containing a number of urgent measures which corresponded to the seriousness of the situation and the legitimate security interests of all member-states.

Please allow me to emphasize once again two of our proposals. First, the concluding of a treaty on the nonuse of force and the preservation of peaceful relations would make a decisive contribution toward improving the international situation. This is recognized by an increasing number of member-states at the conference, without always drawing the necessary conclusions, namely, to advocate the immediate start of negotiations on the conclusion of such a treaty. Second, the risk of nuclear confrontation could be substantially reduced if the other nuclear power were, like the USSR, to accept the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. If these and other far-reaching political steps were linked to concrete measures of military confidence-building on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, then the Stockholm conference would be able to comply successfully with its mandate.

[Hut] How can the conference proceedings be assessed?

[Buehring] You know, the Stockholm conference is not an island unaffected by the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup. For instance, this is clearly shown by the fact that the United States and other NATO states reject outright all measures for the reduction of nuclear confrontation. They put forth propositions aimed at their own military superiority. This attitude is the main reason why during the second round of the conference there have been no negotiations on concrete measures. This is unsatisfactory and in no way corresponds to the hopes the peoples of Europe have rightly placed on this conference.

But in my view, the situation at the conference, just like the negative overall development of the international situation, is not irreversible. However, what is decisive is the political will of all the members. The socialist states are prepared for sensible negotiations proceeding from the principle of equality and equal security. For only in that way can concrete results for lessening the danger of war be achieved. In other words, concrete results will be achieved once no member-state strives for attaining unilateral military advantages.

As far as the GDR is concerned, she is and remains prepared, in the interest of peace and security, to work wholeheartedly for substantial negotiatons and concrete results. [end recording]

UN DELEGATE CRITICIZES U.S. TRADE DECISION

AU121957 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Geneva, July 12 (BTA) -- Ambassador Asen Zlatev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, addressed yesterday's plenary meeting of the second regular session of Ecosoc, the UN Economic and Social Council. He emphasized the importance of the constructive and allembracing proposals contained in the documents adopted at the Moscow high level economic conference in June this year. He pointed out the ongoing aggravation of the situation of the developing countries, burdened with the juncture at the international markets and with the policy of protectionism, restrictions and pressure pursued by the capitalist countries.

The Bulgarian official said that the amendment to the budget act adopted by the U.S. Senate on June 28, which banned the allocation of funds for the promotion of trade between the United States and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, can be viewed only as the latest manifestation in the line of confrontation pursued by the U.S. Administration in East-West relations.

He went on to stress Bulgaria's active work for the promotion of her economic relations with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual profit.

Two of Ecosoc's session committees also started work. Mr Stoyan Bakalov, member of the Bulgarian delegation, was elected chairman of the first (economic) committee.

MLADENOV BEGINS TALKS WITH TURKISH COUNTERPART

AU121427 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] As we have already reported, Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Ankara today on an official visit. He was welcomed at Esenboga Airport by his Turkish counterpart Vahit Halefoglu and by high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the afternoon, the Bulgarian guest laid a wreath and paid honors at the sarcophagus of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of the Republic of Turkey.

Following a brief talk between Petur Mladenov and Vahit Halefoglu, the official talks began. Bilateral relations were reviewed in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere. The two ministers established that Bulgarian-Turkish dialogue for many years has been a major factor for stability and cooperation in the Balkans and Europe. Petur Mladenov and hahit Halefoglu noted that the development of economic ties is one of the main goals toward bringing the two peoples closer together and toward good-neighborliness. They expressed a wish to improve and expand the structure of bilateral trade, a sphere that offers many unused opportunities.

DOYNOV, BRITAIN'S CHANNON DISCUSS ECONOMIC TIES

AU121837 Sofia BTA in English 1820 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA) -- Mr Ognyan Doynov, minister of mechanical engineering, received Mr Paul Channon, minister of state for trade of Great Britain, who is visiting this country. They discussed the possibilities for the promotion of bilateral economic relations in the sphere of mechanical engineering.

BOZHINOV MEETS CEAUSESCU, RETURNS HOME 12 JULY

AU121947 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has received Comrade Todor Bozhinov who paid a 3-day working visit to Romania. Following the talks with Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Covernment, which were held under the agreement reached as a result of the meetings between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu, a memorandum was signed. The memorandum outlines specific measures for expanding cooperation in mining, the power supply, metallurgy, and in the material-technical supply. Comrade Todor Bozhinov also met with the deputy ministers of the prime minister of the Romanian Government [words indistinct] of metallurgy, mining, and supply.

Comrade Todor Bozhinov returned home tonight.

BALEV RETURNS FROM PRAGUE CC SECRETARIES MEETING

AU121915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] The delegation of the BCP Central Committee led by Comrade Milko Balev returned home from Prague tonight. The delegation participated in the conference of secretaries of communist parties of socialist countries on international and ideological issues. The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by Comrade Ognyan Doynov and by high-ranking officials at the BCP Central Committee.

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV CONGRATULATE GDR'S STOPH

AU101141 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, have sent the following greeting message to Willi Stoph, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR:

Esteemed Comrade Stoph

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, of the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as on our own behalf, we convey most sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your 70th birthday and on your award for the second time with the highest Bulgarian decoration, the Georgi Dimitrov order.

You are well known in our country and you are respected as a loyal son of the German workers class who has linked his life to its revolutionary struggles against capitalism and fascism, as well as to the construction of socialism. You are well known as an outstanding party and state leader of the GDR. We highly appreciate your contribution to the development and intensification of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR, to the consolidation of unity and cohesion among the socialist community member-states, headed by the great Soviet Union.

We wish you, esteemed Comrade Stoph, good health, personal happiness, and new successes in your greatly responsible work devoted to the prosperity of the fraternal GDR people, to the triumph of peace and socialism.

ORDER PRESENTED TO ITALIAN SCHOLAR IN ROME

AU071325 Sofia BTA in English 1708 GMT 6 Jul 84

[Text] Rome, July 6 (BTA) correspondent -- Mr Rayko Nikolov, Bulgaria's ambassador to Italy, presented Prof. Ernesto Qualiariello, president of the National Research Council of Italy (C.N.R.) with the Order of Cyril and Methodius (First Class). This high distinction is conferred on him for his notable scientific achievements and for his active contribution to international scientific cooperation.

Attending the ceremony were Sr Antonio Macini, deputy director general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and prominent Italian scientists.

In his congratulatory speech Ambassador Rayko Nikolov laid an emphasis on the historical contacts between the two peoples and on the significance of scientific cooperation in the struggle for progress and world peace.

In his reply Prof. Ernesto Qualiariello underlined Bulgaria's successes in the preservation and dissemination of the work of Cyril and Methodius, as well as scientists' important duty to contribute to the achievement of complete and general disarmament.

Sr Antonio Macini rendered thanks for the high Bulgarian distinction conferred on a representative of the Italian Government.

JOURNALISTS, SOLDIERS SIGN COOPERATION DOCUMENT

AU102115 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 10 Jul 84

[Text] A meeting between the leaderships of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Bulgarian Journalists Union has been held in Sofia. The directions of their joint work during the next years were adopted. These directions provide for various initiatives which will reflect the everyday life of the soldier. The traditional 10-day period of friendship of the Bulgarian journalists and the Bulgarian People's Army will continue to develop and diversify. The general document was signed by Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union, and Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration.

AUTHORITIES SEIZE HEROIN FROM TURK AT BORDER

AU111820 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 11 Jul 84

[Text] [illegible]fia, July 11 (BTA) -- On July 6, 1984, the Bulgarian customs authorities at the Kapitan Andreevo Checkpoint have discovered 10 kg of heroin which the Turkish citizen Kemal Gunal, travelling to Western Europe was trying to smuggle.

CHNOUPEK BEGINS FRG VISIT, MEETS COUNTERPART

Departs Prague

LD121128 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, left today for an official visit to the FRG at the invitation of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, federal minister of foreign affairs. At the airport he was seen off by Jindrich Rehorek, first deputy Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, and other ministry officials.

Matter-of-Fact Atmosphere

LD122119 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today began his 2-day official visit to the FRG. Petr Nemec reports from Bonn:

The first part of the talks took place in a matter-of-fact and constructive atmosphere. Both sides agreed in this evaluation. Bohuslav Chnoupek confirmed interest in the development of relations on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, and equal security. He noted that the siting of new American first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe, in particularly in the FRG, has had a negative effect. It is necessary to work for further constructive development even in this more difficult situation. Both ministers of foreign affairs confirmed the need to raise the political dialogue to a higher level.

Economic relations are developing well. They are also a pillar of the relations between the FRG and the CSSR. In this connection, Comrade Chnoupek gave a detailed explanation on the problem of environmental protection and informed about the measures taken by the Czechoslovak side in this connection. He expressed readiness for constructive and concrete international cooperation. As he said, tendentious and untruthful information is being spread in the FRG about the sources of air pollution. He expressed the hope that the government will undertake corresponding measures to change this situation. These problems, that is, problems of the environment, can truly only be solved constructively and concretely, Comrade Chnoupek emphasized.

In connection with the recent 35th Sudeten German rally which threw a shadow on the relations between the FRG and CSSR, Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said that these rallies cast doubt on the fundamental points in the Postsdam Agreements, those in the UN Charter, and in the 1973 agreement on mutual relations. They touch upon our state and national sovereignty. The official support given here to this traditional anti-Czechoslovak action gives all the more cause for concern. Cultural, scientific, and other contacts were recapitulated at the close of today's talks. Both ministers stated that this was a positive balance. After the talks, Federal President Weizsaecker hosted a reception. This evening Hans-Dietrich Genscher will give a festive dinner in honor of the Czechoslovak guest.

FRG Reportage

For DPA reportage on the visit to the FRG by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, including his talks with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, see the FRG section of the 13 July Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

PCF MEMBER CRITICIZES PARTY'S GOVERNMENT ROLE

AU111324 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jul 84 p 6

["MC"-signed dispatch by RUDE PRAVO's correspondent in Paris: "Unfulfilled Hopes; French Working People's Dissatisfaction With the Government" -- uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] Paris, 8 Jul -- "MANY FRENCHMEN WERE PINNING GREAT HOPES ON THE UNITY OF THE LEFT AND THE NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT. BUT THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT POLICY DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THEIR HOPES," PHILIPPE HERZOG, MEMBER OF THE PCF POLITBURO, WROTE IN AN EDITORIAL OF THE FRENCH MAGAZINE, ECONOMY AND POLITICS.

He notes that after the government implemented important reforms which headed in the right direction, state power is now about to yield to the rules of the intrepreneurs. Employment and purchasing power are on the decline. Even though state power finances the capital, recovery and a modernization of production activity, as well as new jobs are nowhere on the horizon. Under these circumstances, dissatisfaction and disappointment set in, P. Herzog notes. And he mentions that "this situation is reflected in serious problems for the government majority." This was last shown in the left-wing candidates' lack of success in the June elections for the West European Parliament.

Herzog deals, in particular, with the positions of the PCF on the French political stage. He notes that the party's participation in the government is often incorrectly regarded as its only strategy. "Because the government's present policy does not bring satisfaction, many people think that the Communists' strategy has failed. "TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THE ONE HAND, AND THOSE OF FRENCH COMMUNISTS ON THE OTHER, COMMUNISTS MUST -- ACCORDING TO HERZOG -- MORE CLEARLY THAN HERETOFORE SHOW THEIR POSITIONS, ORIENTATION, AND SUGGESTIONS. At the same time, he stresses the necessity of mobilizing the working people and the strategic importance of their share in the administration of enterprises because initiative "from below" and politics as a whole should complement each other, concludes the author of the editorial in the French magazine, ECONOMY AND POLITICS.

HUSAK RECEIVES AWARD FROM MONGOLIA'S GOMBOJAV

LD121952 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, was presented at Prague Castle with the Order of Suhe Baatar, which was given to him by Damdingiyn Gombojav, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP].
This highest award of the Mongolian People's Republic was given to Comrade Gustav Husak on his 70th birthday for his contribution to the strengthening of fraternal relations and cooperation between the CSSR and Mongolia. While presenting the order, Comrade Gombojav, in the name of the highest party and state organs and all the people of the Mongolian People's Republic praised the life work of Comrade Gustav Husak for the victory of the policy of the CPCZ and the interests of the workers of the CSSR, as well as his contribution to the strengthening of unity of states of the socialist community and the international communist and worker's movement.
His contribution to the development of fraternal Czechoslovak-Mongolian cooperation was highly praised.

In his reply Comrade Gustav Husak thanked the Central Committee of the MPRP, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, for the high honor shown to him. He emphasized that he considers it above all an expression of appreciation of the policy of the CPCZ and the struggle of the Czechoslovak people for socialist ideals. It is a symbol of class solidarity and friendship ties of the Czechoslovak and Mongolian people in their joint struggle for peace and progress in the world. Comrade Gustav Husak gave an assurance that he will continue to make all effort for an all round development of Mongolian-Czechoslovak relations and he wished the communists and people of Mongolia new successes in building socialist society.

CPCZ CC GREETS MONGOLIA ON NATIONAL DAY

AU120918 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jul 84 p 1

["Text" of a telegram of greetings sent by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the MPRP and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, on the occasion of their country's national day.]

[Test] Dear Comrades: On the occasion of the national day of the Mongolian People's Republic -- the 63d anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution -- we send you, the Central Committee of the MPRP, the Presidium of People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers, and all Mongolian people warm comradely greetings and congratulations in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and people, and in our own names.

Together with you, we in the CSSR recall the historical importance of the victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia which opened the way toward its new future.

We are sincerely delighted at the results achieved by the Mongolian peoples under the leadership of the MPRP and in close alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal states in implementing the revolutionary aims of social-economic advancement of their country and in increasing the standard of the life for the people.

We follow with great interest the endeavor of the Mongolian working peoples in fulfilling the conclusions of the 18th party congress on the construction of the socialist society.

The Mongolian People's Republic gained a wide international authority with its principled peaceful foreign policy. It contributes significantly to the development of cooperation among the states of the socialist community and to the struggle of peace-loving forces against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, for permanent peace, for detente, and for security and cooperation among the states in Asia and in the whole world.

We value the fact that both parties and countries and the peoples of the CSSR and Mongolia are linked by traditionally firm and friendly ties, fruitful cooperation, and identical interests, aims, and building tasks. We are convinced that these ties, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will further successfully develop in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our two countries.

On the occasion of this important day in the life of the Mongolian People's Republic we wish you, dear comrades, and all fraternal Mongolian people further successes in building a socialist society.

COLOTKA VISITS SENICA DISTRICT, INSPECTS FARMS

LD122302 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Peter Colotka, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Slovak premier, visited Senica district today. He visited the state farm in Plavecke Podhradie, where he inquired about the results in plant production. He discussed the filfillment of economic tasks in first 6 months of the year with the party and state representatives of the district. He praised the contribution made by Communists and other citizens of Senica district to its development and underlined the activity of cooperation boroughs of Senica and Myjava. He paid visit also to the area communal services enterprise in Senica, in the national enterprise [word indistinct] in Skalica and to the city national committee in Skalica. In conclusion of his working visit Comrade Colotka examined the quality of densely sown grain. He inspected the readiness for harvest in the Skalica unified farming cooperatives.

SLOVAK SR PLAN FULFILLMENT PROGRESS, DEFICITS

LD122316 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Our colleague, Elena Stavova, is the author of the following commentary about the fulfillment of the Slovak Socialist Republic plan for the first half of this year:

The preliminary results of this year show that the overwhelming majority of basic indexes for the plan for the first half of the year were fulfilled. Industrial production fulfilled 50-55 percent of the year's plan and was higher than last year by 5.7 percent. The planned dynamism has been overfulfilled by most sectors. The greatest improvement of standard against last year has been scored by electrotechnical industry, heavy and general engineering, and iron metallurgy enterprises and the chemical industry has also fulfilled its tasks well. These sectors along with others have contributed most to the overfulfillment of the plan of gross production for the first 6 months by over Kcs1 billion.

However, some enterprises have not fulfilled their half-yearly plans by 100 percent and their deficit against the plan equals almost Kcs350 million. The wood-processing industry continues to fail to increase production as requested. Building supplying organizations were able to fulfill the plan of basic construction production in June by 103.5 percent and in this way they reduced their deficit from previous months and have almost fulfilled the plan for the first 6 months. Labor production in construction compared with last year grew and this was the most important factor contributing to the overall growth in construction production.

In procurement of livestock products agricultural organizations successfully fulfilled the plan in all areas in first 6 months and in this way they made a contribution to a good supplies to the home market.

The Ministry of Trade Organizations retail turnover was overfulfilled by almost Kcs270 million and this is an increase against last year of 4.5 percent. It was the initiative of the working people in honor of 40th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising and liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army which was manifested in many enterprises by updating their production plan which helped to fulfill the plan for the first 6 months. The results show that if we maintain the current dynamism of development of the national economy there are no obstacles in the way of fulfilling the overall yearly tasks for 1984.

SLOVAK CONSTRUCTION ACHIEVEMENTS, SHORTCOMINGS

LD072302 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 7 Jul 84

[Text] A delegation led by Julius Harnus, first deputy chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic, took part in the Days of Builders celebrations in the House of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Bratislava. Editor Milos Gesko reports:

[Begin recording] [Gesko] The atmosphere of this year's Days of Builders was more pleasant than other years. Slovak builders are gradually doing away with shortcomings, in spite of persisting reserves and faults, and in this way they have attained favorable results even in reduction of number of projects under construction. The number of completed projects has started to outgrow the number of new projects causing a reduction in the overall number of projects under construction.

When Dusan Miklanek, Slovak minister of construction, spoke about the work of construction industry for the first 6 months, he said:

[Miklanek] Preliminary results show that the tasks in basic construction production were fulfilled by 47.5 percent of the annual plan. The construction plan for mandatory projects was fulfilled by 105 percent. The annual plan was fulfilled by 49.3 percent in this sphere. However out of a total of 104 mandatory projects tasks were not fulfilled at nine projects. This is less than last year, yet it is not quite satisfactory. This shortcoming should be rectified in the second half of the year. We are glad to say that the plan was also fulfilled in apartment housing construction. We completed 9,326 apartments, that is 300 more apartments than prescribed by the plan and 42 percent of the annual plan was already fulfilled. This is one of the best results the Slovak building industry has ever attained. It is 4 percent more than last year. We also finished and handed over 22 community centers.

[Gesko] Builders also scored achievements in fuel-energy projects and concentrated investment project construction in Prague, Bratislava, and the North Bohemia Region.

Naturally, critical voices were also heard. Problems in individual enterprises were openly pointed out, in spite of the expectation that all four construction production economic units will achieve the envisaged profit.

The building industry devotes increasing attention to the application of scientific-technical knowledge. Such demanding projects as nuclear power stations, or the huge Danube waterwork project require a creative approach to work at every step. Minister Miklanek went on to speak about new tasks in housing construction.

[Miklanek] Our most important task in the application of science and technology is a new heating-technical regulation in housing construction. Its most important consequence is the rule that beginning January 1984 all newly completed apartments must conform to this new regulation. This significantly helps to save energy by as much as 24 percent compared to the apartments built according to the old regulations.

[Gesko] Comrade Julius Hanus also spoke at today's session. He praised the results of construction industry which are a good present for the 40th anniversary of liberation of our homeland. He said about the current tasks of the building industry, among other things:

[Hanus] We need a productive building industry which would also be able to react quickly to the needs of scientific and technical progress in other spheres of everyday life. We need a building industry which would react quickly and readily to the needs of progress, that is a building industry which could be applied at those places which could bring society the greatest economic benefit.

However, we also need building industry for creating new living conditions for the population of this country. It is not simple to fulfill such demanding requests. We must create the necessary conditions for the building industry to allow it to fulfill these tasks: in time, space, volume, structure, machinery -- these are only the most basic ones. The building industry is not self-sufficient. The related industries are often of the same importance. In some cases these are long-term tasks. It is necessary to start immediately in one direction -- and this can be dealt with by builders themselves -- that is, it is necessary to substantially improve the quality of the builders work, to speak concretely, the quality of finished projects.

[Gesko] This was Comrade Hanus. His words show that the quality of our living and working conditions largely depends on the builders. The results for the first 6 months are more favorable than ever before. But the industry is facing a long road toward new achievements and this will be an overall test of its strength. [end recording]

FUELING NUCLEAR REACTOR IN JASLOVSKE BOHUNICE

WA121800 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 84 p 2

[Text] Jaslovske Bohunice, 30 June (CTK) -- On completing the installation of internal parts and of the system of neutron flow controls, Saturday night (30 June) the work started on the loading of fuel into the first of the two reactors of the nuclear power station V2 at Jaslovske Bohunice. This brought our second nuclear power station into its physical start-up stage.

The loading of fuel is expected to take 2 to 3 weeks and the entire physical start-up process until August 1984. The actual power start-up as well as the phasing into the power net of the two 220-megawatt turbines will then follow.

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE YOUTH DELEGATION VISITS -- The delegation of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, headed by Ha Quang Du, its second secretary, which is in Bratislava and the West Slovak Region for the first meeting of friendship and solidarity between the Czechoslovak and Vietnamese youth, was received yesterday by Jozef Durica, chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union. He briefed the visitors about the tasks facing the youth organizations after its 3d congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress and about young people's share in putting the results of scientific and technological development into practice more rapidly. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0000 GMT 3 Jul 84 LD]

AGRICULTURE MINISTRY PRESS CONFERENCE -- Workers of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food held a press conference in Prague today. The planned grain harvest this year is 7.2 million metric tons. This means 4.21 metric tons per hectare on average. The pulse yield is also expected to be according to plan but corn yields have been negatively affected by the recent cold weather. 12,722 combine harvesters will be used in the Czechoslovak SR for the harvest this year. From the GDR and Poland, 821 new machines will be delivered for this year's harvest. There is plenty of storage space available this year including a new method of storage with ventilation which safeguards the quality of grain and is less demanding on fuels. [Summary] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Jul 84 LD]

HONECKER, CRAXI DISCUSS PEACE, BILATERAL ISSUES

AU111352 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 84 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin -- Official talks between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Bettino Craxi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, began in the State Council building on Monday afternoon. Both statesmen conducted a comprehensive exchange of views on the present international situation and on the development of relations between the GDR and Italy.

Erich Honecker assessed the visit of the Italian prime minister and of Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti as an expression of the positive bilateral relations and as a contribution to the cooperation of both countries in the interest of peace and a return to the path of detente. During the exchange of views on international questions both sides expressed their great concern about the aggravated international situation and the dangers resulting from that. Despite a different evaluation of the causes for the dangerous situation that has developed they agreed that the main thing now is to preserve Europe and the world from a nuclear arms war. They spoke out in favor of doing everything in the interest of a peaceful future of the peoples to reduce the tensions and reduce the military confrontation in Europe in particular.

Erich Honecker and Bettino Craxi considered it as a priority aim to achieve agreements that result in an ending of the arms race, in limiting and reducing the existing arms systems on the basis of equality and equal security and to preserve the military-strategic balance that is indispensible for peace on an ever lower and lower level. Erich Honecker stressed in this connection the necessity of halting deployment and withdrawing the American intermediate-range missiles from the FRG and other Western European countries. He stressed that the countermeasures of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the CSSR will be strictly within the framework determined by the deployment steps of the United States and NATO.

The representatives of both states resolutely spoke out in favor of letting the will for a peaceful solution of controversial issues gain the upper hand in international relations. In the course of the talk they said that a constructive political dialogue between East and West conducted in the awareness of responsibility on the lasting securing of peace is suitable for providing important stimuli for a return to the path of detente and the improvement of the international situation. Differing, even opposing views should not be an impairment. Both sides reaffirmed their readiness to actively participate in discussing all constructive proposals that are directed at reducing and eliminating the danger of a nuclear inferno, at disarmament and guaranteeing international security.

In this connection Erich Honecker referred to the undiminished validity of the proposals of the socialist states, above all those contained in the Prague declaration, the Moscow declaration, and the Budapest communique of 20 April 1984, and discussed the proposals submitted by the socialist countries. These proposals are worthy of consideration and are acceptable for the other side. Prime Minister Craxi demonstrated Italy's will to live in peace and support a reduction of nuclear arms, in particular intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Erich Honecker and Bettino Craxi positively assessed the results achieved in bilateral relations and expressed their firm intention to further universally develop the politically calculable and reliable cooperation between both states and peoples to the mutual advantage. They agreed that here increase attention must be paid to the continuation and further deepening of the political dialogue.

The talks were then continued in the plenum of both delegations in which the two foreign ministers, Oskar Fischer and Giulio Andreotti, as well as state secretary Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Ambassador Renato Ruggero, general director for economic affairs in the Italian Foreign Ministry, reported on their separate talks.

Erich Honecker and Bettino Craxi agreed that the economic relations do not yet meet the potentials of the two countries. In accordance with the reports measures were laid down that make possible a considerable increase of the goods exchange and scientific-technological cooperation.

The talks, which took place in a businesslike and open atmosphere, were attended on the GDR side by Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; Gerhard Beil, member of the Council of Ministers, state secretary, and first deputy minister of foreign trade; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and head of the Office of the Chairman of the GDR State Council; Kurt Nier, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Hans Voss, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to the Italian Republic; and on the side of the Italian Repbulic by Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs; Umberto La Rocca, ambassador and head of the Office of the Foreign Minister; Bruno Bottai, ambassador and general director for political affairs; Carlo Albertario, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the GDR; and Renato Ruggero, ambassador and general director for economic affairs.

Economic Agreements

AU111931 Rome ANSA in English 1921 GMT 11 Jul 84

[Text] (ANSA) Rome July 11 -- Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and East German leader Erich Honecker agreed to try and conclude a long-term plan for developing economic, industrial, technical and scientific cooperation by the end of the year when they met in Berlin this week, a statement from Craxi's office said today. Craxi and Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti held talks with the East German leaders on Monday and Tuesday. The aim of the long-term plan will be to achieve a significant and balanced increase of trade in both directions, today's statement said. The areas for the new ventures have yet to be decided. One possibility is agro-industry, for which a special work group has been created, and there are also moves to encourage significant improvements in direct cooperation between enterprises in the two countries. Negotiations will start at once, the statement disclosed. A first chance will be the Leipzig fair which will receive a visit from Renato Ruggiero, director-general of the Italian Foreign Ministry's Economic Affairs Section, in September. The talks could then continue in Rome in October and reach a conclusion before the year is out. Sources noted in particular that the talks in Berlin were described by Honecker as "open and frank". According to the Italian sources, this week's talks were "sincere, but not without difficulty", though they confirmed the opinion that all problems can be solved "with good-will and the weapons of reason".

STRAUSS RECEIVES AMBASSADOR MOLDT IN MUNICH

LD121554 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Munich, 12 Jul (ADN) -- The head of the GDR's Permanent Mission in the FRG, Ambassador Ewald Moldt, was received in Munich on Thursday by the prime minister of the Free State of Bavaria, Franz Josef Strauss. At the meeting, questions of mutual interest were discussed. The talks passed off in a businesslike and open atmosphere.

FDGB, CGT ISSUE COMMUNIQUE ON KRASUCKI VISIT

LD062219 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1815 GMT 6 Jul 84

[Text] Berlin, 6 Jul (ADN) -- The struggle to preserve peace is the foremost task of the trade union representation of interests. Along with all trade union forces it is necessar to counter the policy of arms escalation pursued by the U.S. Administration and NATO circles. This is stated in a joint communique at the end of the talks between delegations of the FDGB headed by its chairman, Harry Tisch, and the General Labor Confederation [CGT] headed by its secretary general, Henri Krasucki. Serious negotiations for disarmament and peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders are described in the communique as being indispensable for the survival of mankind and the security of each country. The two organizations support the peace movements which work in various European countries against the stationing of new U.S. missiles and for reducing nuclear armaments in Europe in order to guarantee equal security for all peoples. The communique states that there was an exchange of views on the further development of the WFTU and on possibilities for contributing towards this. The FDGB and CGT will intensify their work within the WFTU, especially in the period running up to the 11th World Trade Union Congress, which is to take place in 1986 in the GDR capital. Following the consultations on the further shaping of mutual relations it was agreed to prepare joint activities for 1985 to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the 35th anniversary of the signing of the militant agreement between the CGT and the FDGB. On Friday the delegations of the two trade union organizations met for a concluding talk in Berlin under the leadership of FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch and CGT Secretary General Henri Krasucki. The CGT delegation ends its visit to the GDR on Sunday.

SIEBER MEETS DOS SANTOS, ENDS ANGOLA VISIT

LD121928 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Luanda, 12 Jul (ADN) -- In the struggle against the arms buildup and confrontation policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, particularly the United States, and for the preservation of peace in the world, Angola stands firmly beside the socialist community states. This was stated by the president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Party of Labor and of the People's Republic of Angola, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, at a meeting Thursday with Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department. The president paid tribute to the decades of solidarity aid from the GDR for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Angolan people. Guenter Sieber, who is in Angola at the head of a SED Central Committee delegation, passed on a personal message from Erich Honecker. It affirms the active solidarity of the SED and the GDR with the struggle of the Angolan people for the defense of national independence and sovereignty and for the preservation and consolidation of revolutionary achievements. At the end of the talks between Guenter Sieber and members of the MPLA-Party of Labor, a program of cooperation for 1984-1985 was signed Thursday. During its stay in Angola, the SED delegation had meetings with officials and members of the MPLA and workers in factories in Luanda and Lubango, the administrative center of the southern Angolan province of Huila.

HOFFMANN, SILAYEV: USE, REPAIR OF USSR EQUIPMENT

LD121248 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] GDR Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann had a meeting in Berlin today with Soviet Minister of Aviation Industry Ivan Silayev, for a closing talk.

During his working visit of several days the guest has exchanged experience in the use, maintenance, and repair of USSR equipment. During the farewell visit, Army General Hoffmann paid high tribute to the efficiency of the Soviet aviation industry. Its modern combat and transport planes and helicopters will make an important contribution to the National People's Army's reliable fulfillment of the class task of defense of socialism and peace. The Army personnel regard it as their internationalist duty in the alliance to have mastery of the combat equipment entrusted to them and to solve all tasks, especially in the regular air defense system of the Warsaw Pact, in an exemplary fashion.

HOFFMANN SENDS MESSAGE TO PRK'S BOU THANG

BK300808 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 30 Jun 84

[Text] On the occasion of the 33d founding anniversary of the Kampcuhean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces [KPRAF], Comrade Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense of the GDR, sent a congratulatory message to Comrade Bou Thang, national defense minister of the PRK. The message stressed that the Army and people of the GDR would like to express warm congratulations for the brave and persistent struggle of the KPRAF against the imperialists and other reactionaries to defend their fatherland. We would like to wish the KPRAF new successes in strengthening its forces to struggle for the revolutionary cause and the fatherland.

SED CC BIRTHDAY MESSAGE TO WILLI STOPH

AU101403 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jul 84 p 1

[SED Central Committee message to Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on his 70th birthday]

[Text] Dear Comrade Willi Stoph, the SED Central Committee conveys to you the most cordial greetings and congratulations on your 70th birthday.

Today we look back with you toward the long and eventful path of a fellow fighter whose conscious life has been inseparably linked with the struggle of the workers class against imperialism and war, for liberation from capitalist exploitation and suppression, for peace and socialism, for over 5 decades.

Having grown up and been educated in a Berlin worker family, you experienced the inhumanity of the imperialist system of rule in your childhood. The class struggles that became severely aggravated in the years of your early youth developed in you the knowledge that the enemies of the working people can only be successfully opposed in the organized and resolute struggle. Thus, at the beginning of your apprenticeship as a mason in 1928 you became a member of the Communist Youth Association of Germany and the trade union.

As a young functionary of the Communist Youth Association you always worked with revolutionary enthusiasm for the interests of the working youth.

You have been a member of the Communist Party of Germany since you were 17 years old. In the hard class struggles of that time, above all, in the struggle aggainst rising fascism, this struggle assigned to you responsible tasks which you fulfilled with the devotion which characterizes you.

In implementing the tasks set by the party in the struggle against imperialism, fascism, and war you gained manifold revolutionary experiences.

In unshakable loyalty to our communist ideals you have demonstrated revolutionary elan and political steadfastness in all situations. At the side of comrades and fellow fighters you courageously supported the just cause of the workers class and the entire working people in the illegal resistance struggle against fascism and the imperialist war. As do many of your comrades and fellow fighters, you belong to those who unswervingly remained loyal to the cause of the workers class and defended its honor during the fascist rule of force.

After the smashing of fascism and the liberation of our people by the glorious Armed Forces of the Soviet Union you were among those comrades who, entrusted by the party with responsible functions in the party and state apparatus, used all their strength to reconstruct our worker-peasant power, to aid the antifascist-democratic changes and the socialist revolution.

You achieved great things in those years of the difficult beginning in the development of industry and the construction sector of our young state. As minister of interior and minister of national defense of the GDR you resolutely worked for the development and strengthening of the Armed Forces of our people, for the reliable protection of our socialist state and our socialist achievements.

Based on the trust of the party you were elected to the Central Committee at the third party congress in 1950. Since 1953 you have been in the Politburo of the Central Committee of our party and are performing a work which is marked by high political responsibility in the collective of the party leadership.

For over 30 years you have been deputy of the GDR People's Chamber. Appointed by it -- as minister, as deputy, first deputy, and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and from 1973-76 as chairman of the GDR State Council, you have consistently worked to ensure that the socialist social order develops successfully.

In your present responsible work as chairman of the Council of Ministers and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council you use all your strength, your knowledge, and ability for the further successful implementation of the main task concerning the unity of economic and social policy to the benefit of the people. Your constant efforts serve the strengthening of our socialist state power, the further improvement of the state's leadership activity and the socialist democracy, as well as the deepening of the close relationship of trust between the citizens of our country and their socialist state.

The development and prospering of the GDR -- whose 35th anniversary we will soon be celebrating -- its international authority and attraction, are closely linked to your personal commitment. The fruitful cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries and the further universal strengthening of the community of socialist states have been and are a matter close to your heart.

The party and government have honored with great awards your great merits in developing the socialist society and your untiring work for implementing the decisions of the party of the workers class. Due to your loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, due to your close affinity with the working people, you have gained the trust of the party and of all the people. In you we honor a representative of the SED and our worker-peasant state who is respected by all citizens.

Dear Comrade Willi Stoph, the SED Central Committee expresses cordial thanks to you today on your day of honor for your responsible work in the interest of our party and to the benefit of the people. We combine with this best wishes for good health, creative vigor, and personal well-being.

With socialist greetings

SED Central Committee

KATONA, DELEGATION RETURN FROM MOSCOW 12 JULY

LD121855 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Moscow, July 12 (MTI) -- The delegation of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic returned from Moscow Thursday. The Hungarian delegation had paid an official friendship visit to the Soviet Union under the leadership of Imre Katona, secretary of the Hungarian Presidential Council, at the invitation of Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

OVARI-LED CC GROUP ARRIVES HOME FROM PRAGUE TALKS

LD122022 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Consultations dealing with international and ideological issues, which were attended by Central Committee secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, have concluded in Prague. The Hungarian delegation, including Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee; Gyorgy Aczel [Politburo member and Central Committee secretary]; and Matyas Szuros [Central Committee secretary] arrived home in the early evening.

GASPAR DISCUSSES PROBLEMS FACING TRADE UNIONS

AU050953 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Sandor Gaspar, president of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council and member of the MSZMP Politburo: "The Trade Unions Against the Crisis"]

[Text] The trade unions of the advanced capitalist countries had achieved a significant position for themselves in the period from the end of World War II to the crisis that began in the seventies. This relatively peaceful period ended in the middle of the seventies and, amid the economic crisis of the capitalist world, there is now a difficult struggle in progress for a readjustment of relationships of power. Will the trade unions be able to hold their own in this struggle, and what and how great will their role be in the future? Will the mass of the employed be able to reorganize themselves and regenerate their political and economic strength, and what place will be allotted to the trade unions in this collective defense?

Capital launched an attack against the trade unions on the planes of ideology and practice simultaneously because its plans, based on unlimited natural resources and an infinitively excessive demand, have collapsed. It reacts to the new situation in accordance with its own logic: It cuts back entire industrial sectors and fires millions of workers. This is almost impossible to do when opposed by strong trade unions, so that capital needs public opinion to be against trade unions. With reference to "Individual freedom," "human rights," and "free enterprise," it intends to create a public mood against the trade unions. The trade unions are always listed among the main reasons for problems, as though the trade unions' wage struggles were to blame for the defeats that have been suffered by the bourgeoisie of several countries in the sharp competititve struggle. The fomenting of a war psychosis plays a special role in the attack against the trade unions. Particularly since the end of the seventies, an artificial intensificiation of tensions between countries with different social systems has been an instrument through which they increase the pressure brought to bear on the trade unions, alleging that "national unity" is needed in the face of some "external threat."

The curtailment of social allowances also strongly preoccupies Western trade unions. Because of limited social possibilities, governments want to remodel the system of social allowances: They make eligibility conditions stricter and reduce the amount of benefits. The traditionally well-functioning mechanism of trade unions for asserting sociopolitical interests has weakened under the impact of inflation, unemployment, and state interventions. By the eighties, the struggles of the recent decades and their battlefields have dwindled. In the euphoria of a "welfare society," the trade unions have not prepared themselves sufficiently for the problems arising from the beginning of a new era in the world economy. Therefore, it is not without reason that they are afraid that the working people will become disillusioned with and indifferent to their own interest-protecting organizations and that the number of their members will considerably decrease, as will the trade unions' resistance and regenerating ability, and the trade unions will be unable to suitably represent the requirements and direct interests of the working people.

Issues concerning employment affect the Western trade unions particularly gravely. In the wake of the recovery from the crisis and new models of economic growth -- although they have reduced or are reducing inflation -- unemployment has remained and even increased in some cases in the capitalist countries. And the existence of multinational enterprises constitutes a specific problem in trade union struggle. Because the international concentration of production increases, the number of people working at enterprises of this type also increases. In general, capitalists have made their investments where man power is cheaper and are striving to turn the workers of their enterprises, established in various countries, against each other through various means.

Under these circumstances, the trade unions are also concerned that the growth of new industrial sectors does not create as many new jobs as can be eliminated through the sectors' operation and, thus, unemployment continues to increase. Because of this, as a new task, the trade unions foster the retraining of workers. This will be done with the 20,000 metallurgical workers in France who had to be retrained because of the closure of the metallurgical plants in Lorraine in order to enable them to find work in some sector of the electronics industry.

The existence of the vast host of unemployed people held in reserve makes a struggle difficult. Strikes also have become a hazardous means of the movement, because they can lead to a deterioration of the economic position of enterprises. The losses arising from a shortfall of production may induce enterprise managers to halt the production of products that are difficult to sell in any case; indeed, even bankruptcy may occur. Thus, the strike movement could even accelerate a further decrease of workplaces.

The scientific-technical revolution has led to a transformation of the labor force that affects permanently -- that is, strategically as well -- trade union activity. Among employees, the ratio of the workers of large enterprises has decreased, and the diminishment of traditional professions is accompanied by a lessening of highly experienced forces of the trade union struggle as well. Although the ratio of people employed in the service sector has increased, because of specific work conditions there, organization and, thus the trade union's struggle is more difficult in that sector. The spreading of electronics and computer technology in particular requires a stratum of workers with new qualificiations, as well as intellectuals and white collar workers employed directly in production -- and that on a mass scale. This stratum performs work largely or completely of an intellectual nature, its work conditions are more sophisticated, and its salary is higher -- and, accordingly, so is its social prestige in general. However, because it encompasses entirely new branches of employment, a considerable portion of this stratum possesses virtually no traditions and experiences of the workers movement.

It seems that the trade unions of the large Western countries have not been able, either in Europe or the United States, to prevent the deterioration of the working and living conditions of the working people. In more than one country, the trade unions have retreated and now are pursuing a rearguard struggle for their rights and members. If the trade unions do not react to the challenge by changing their strategy, if they continue to "sing the same tune," public opinion would really believe that the problems have their fundamental roots in the trade unions. Big capital takes good advantage of the chaos of this situation; indeed, through measures to disrupt unity and means of intimidation, it reduces opportunities for protecting the workers' interests.

The trade unions of Western Europe are essentially equally affected by the consequence of the crisis. Their problems are similar or identical, but their endeavors differ from each other in many respects. These still-strong workers' organizations with a great past are seeking possibilities for fulfilling their mission and a path for their revival in different ways and with different objectives in mind. Some operate within the traditional framework of the trade union movement. Also, in the changed situation, they continue to regard selling labor at a greater advantage for the employee as the solution. At the same time there are trade unions that go considerably further than this and expand the traditional compasses of the protection of interests and want to gain participation in influencing social-economic processes as well.

It seems obvious even from this outline of the present situation that one can hardly count on an alleviation of the offensive against employees before a trade union transformation takes place in the capitalist world economy and a new boom develops on the basis of realigned economic-political basis. For this very reason, a continuous coordination of the interests of employees on an all-European scale within a trade union movement considerably more integrally interwoven than previously would be needed; for, to be sure, the intertwining of international bourgeoisie has outpaced the collaboration of the international workers class and people living from wages, and this failure to keep pace can only be diminished through deliberate action. It is for this situation that the trade union movements of the advanced Western capitalist countries are trying to find an answer. This answer was most clearly formulated recently by the Italian General Confederation of Labor [CGIL] and the Spanish workers committees' leadership.

The greatest demonstration of recent years took place in Rome on 20 March: One million people protested against a decree of Craxi's coalition government aimed at the workers and trade unions that would eliminate the progressive wage scale, which has been modified several times in any case. CGIL Secretary General Lama said the following at a Rome meeting on that day: "A trade union that does not enjoy the support and trust of the workers and does not nurture itself from the roots of the workers class is not viable. We must correct our mistakes and our policy, which is frequently a shortsighted one. They consist of our failure to notice the disquiet and dissatisfaction of the working people, the fact that we could not suitably appraise the latest modernization of industrial production and its consequences and impact on production, society as a whole, and particularly the workers class. We cannot forgo the class struggle even in the electronic age."

The fact that in any case employee interest will forge a path for themselves will be ensured also by economic processes. The social democratic-type parties that have been excluded from power and are in the opposition -- such as the British and West German -- are judging capitalism more critically. There has been a particular increase in the antimonopolist tone and opposition to war in the documents of the Socialist International. These tones are more clearly discernible in the positions of the trade unions.

The increase is due, first of all, to international alignment of forces, the existence of socialist world order, and the strength of the capitalist countries' workers' movement in that the extended crisis -- at least in the centers of the capitalist world -- even in the case of a certain measure of drifting to the right -- has not led to a considerable strengthening of the extreme right, the fascist forces, and especially not to their getting into power.

It is a new phenomenon, but not accidental, that the trade unions of the developed capitalist countries have become more active in the peace movement. Today there is not a single developed capitalist country in which the trade unions do not initiate actions of unparalleled size to avoid a war catastrophe. In the last years, particularly in Great Britain and the Netherland, the peace movement has assumed mass proportion, a movement in which the British and Dutch trade unions took an active part. The Italian trade unions -- especially the CGIL -- also consider the struggle for peace as one of their most important tasks: they organize and mobilize their members to take part in demonstrations and inform their readers about this struggle in their papers.

The development of enterprise institutions and the strengthening of the local interests' coordinating processes forced the trade union movement in the West to strengthen its activity, at workplaces as well as at the professional branch, and industrial branch levels. Since 1968 -- in a process still under way -- enterprise trade union sections have developed in many countries, sections that, with their independent enterprise rights, interest defense rights, and even contract-signing rights, have influenced the entire representation system and often have intertwined with it. These enterprise trade union organs represented the more general efforts of the trade union center, but they also took part in the local, direct solution of enterprise conflicts. Thus the activity of the trade unions also moved officially within the enteprises. This change in function led to much debate of different trends in trade unions. But there was a clear need for strengthening the enterprise-level trade unions activity, as the workers' interest also turned in this direction.

This situation has unavoidably put on the agenda the struggle for strengthening trade unions and safeguarding the trade unions' status, which is of a different tone and orientation in different countries and among the trade union associations. The British Trades Union Congress has taken an untrodden path since the fall of 1980, when it organized solidarity actions in support, for instance, of the network of health service workers. It declared its opposition to the freezing of wages, appealled for withdrawal from the EEC, approved an alternative economic program, and stood against reprivatization of the nationalized industrial enterprises. During the time of the Social Democratic government, the FRG was almost a "trade union state," the trade unions being present in almost all areas. In the last 1 and 1/2 years, the situation has changed. Under the Kohl government, the German Trade Union Federation [DGB] and the affiliated trade unions must lead a tough struggle. The DGB surely will not allow the trade unions to be excluded from all participation. I would point out only one element of the struggle of the West German trade unions: the struggle for the 35-hour workweek. This is important not only for the FRG trade unions because in case of either success of failure it can create a precedent for the trade unions of the other EEC countries.

The implementation of the trade unions' traditional functions under the circumstances of crisis and slow progress is clearly more difficult than previously. This, however, does not mean that the trade unions do and can give up their traditional tasks in representing the interests of the working class, of the workers; on the contrary, the trade unions are capable of achieving the harmonized actions of the workers of several countries. For instance, the stirke organized in the British factories of of the Ford plant was supported by the workers and employees of the firm's plants in France, the FRG, and Belgium.

It is clear that the big capital takes advantage of the possibilities that present themselves to incorporate the trade union movement or a part of it into capitalism. Currently and temporarily, the conditions for this are present in certain areas. But there is no doubt for a moment that the contradiction between labor and capital cannot be eliminated by this. Therefore, any falter of the trade union movement would benefit big capital. It is our conviction that nowhere will the trade unions become defenders of the capitalist system. The trade unions cannot lose their character. The class situation, the conditions of property, and the conditions of divisions basically determine the place and role of the trade unions. They cannot become the servants of power because in this case they would quickly lose their mass support.

Therefore, the crisis forces the trade union movement in the West to renew itself, since the worker faces capital, and the movement cannot afford, even temporarily, not to defend his interests. The trade unions, therefore, continue the workers' control, defend the collective contracts, and let their voice be heard on an increasing number of political issues. In order for the trade unions to defend their independence, to be able to prepare for eventual unexpected turns, it is essential to instruct the members. Only with harmonized actions is it possible to successfully stand up to capital. But it is also clear that the trade unions renew themselves in this process, and the entire Western trade union movement will rise in solidarity.

The trade union movement all over the world grew on the principle of solidarity. The ideal and practice of solidarity has always been an important source of power. It continues to be today and this tradition motivates us too. The Hungarian trade unions are not indifferent to the struggle of our class brothers living in the capitalist countries. We support the trade union movements of these countries if we set an example with the activity of our own movement. If the example of a socialist country is not attractive, then this harms the trade unions of the world, too. That is why the trade unions of the socialist countries must live up to the commitments in defending the interests of the workers, and must show an example in trade union democracy, in expanding the independent activity of the workers, and in asserting the influence of the workers concerning their own destiny.

As a result of the processes going on in the world, in Western Europe for example, the question is justifiably put as to whether or not the role of the trade unions in Hungary is decreasing. We firmly declare: The role of the Hungarian trade unions is not decreasing; on the contrary, it continues to increase. One of the most eloquent examples of this: The MSZMP Central Committee considered it necessary not long ago to strengthen the experiences of the last decades in trade union policy, and again took a position concerning the role of the trade unions, a role that cannot be compared to anything else. This position also includes the future of the trade unions.

In Hungary the trade unions' position and future role are basically determined by the development of socialist society and its requirements. The critical processes in the world affect our country, too. The new phenomena also force us again and again to reconsider and constantly develop our work. We must start from the fact that we have reached a level in socialist development in which many old goals of the trade unions have been accomplished; more than that, they have become citizen's rights. The power of the workers, the public property of the means of production, the right to work and recreation, and the social security of real social scale -- these socialist achievements have become natural components and characteristics of life in Hungary. At the same time, the Hungarian trade unions consider it natural and support the process of the development of the economic macromanagement system, which also helps and is the consequence of social progress.

We are justifiably proud of the fact that there is no unemployment in Hungary, but that there is security of existence, universal health care, education, and a pension system: our social policy and services also have forcefully developed. But what we have achieved is still not perfect in many respects, and thus it is necessary to improve, develop, variegate, and, last but not least, enrich it. When we take into account that the capitalist world affects us too, we must clearly see and analyze the domestic reality that is influenced by these effects. One is also aware of the fact that, although the scope of trade union rights is wider than previously as a result of the party Central Committe's decision, at the same time, our possibilities have narrowed under the more difficult economic situation.

Therefore, we must consider which are, in our present position, the new elements and talks in comparison with the previous ones. I would mention in the first place our experience that the old forms of activity fostering economic development -- the brigade movement, the innovation movement, and the various work competitions -- are no longer quite sufficient today. To enable the trade unions to use more efficiently those of their tasks that are still valid today, we must seek and ensure new forms of development and growth of production.

As the result of the increased independence of economic units, decisionmaking in most important aspects of production is becoming concentrated increasingly on the enterprise. Thus, the "homework" of the trade unions at enterprises also changes. Their primary task is not to assert possibly standarized ideas and viewpoints coming from above, but to find and also perform more independently -- in harmony with the trade unions' general policy and practice, of course -- the tasks of trade unions in the area of their operation, including the fostering of the development of production.

Another issue that should be reviewed is the direction in which we should further develop our system of distribution. The situation was previously characterized by a relatively low wage level accompanied by a high rate of social benefits, averaging 35 percent, as a portion of incomes. The price level is now rising and the situation forces us to foster the increase of wages, but on the basis of work, in a way differentiated according to performance. Previously, allowances constituted the cardinal principle. It must now be replaced by performance. The desirable goal that the income of the working man should depend increasingly closely on the performance of his plant and shop and his own production results should be particularly stressed.

Preserving and further strengthening social accord is a fundamental problem of the present phase of development. This is inconceivable without taking into consideration the daily interests of the working masses and working consistently to assert them. Therefore, greatly enhancing initiative on a mass scale in daily trade union activity, in the interests of more efficient work, and brisker and more variegated political work closer to the professions, strata, and individuals, in the protection of interests, are indispensable. At issue primarily is how far each working man is able truly to participate in shaping his own destiny and, locally and on a national scale alike, how he can influence it through his voice and active work. In our society, which is building socialism, all minor and major issues must be made into a public matter in this sense. This is an elementary requirement of our policy.

In all this, the trade unions play an irreplaceable role that cannot be compared with anything else. The trade unions hold together the entirety of the working people -- everyone living from wages and salaries -- and deal collectively with complex issues of their work and life.

The trade union is the only mass organization present at every workplace, one that fulfills its mission, in the service of 5 million working men living from wages and salaries, with its more than 100,000 functionaries, day after day.

The trade unions are judged primarily by the masses -- it goes without saying, in our country as well -- by what they can do to improve their economic and social position. That is why we advocate that in every phase of the development of the socialist society -- in the future, as in the past -- the trade unions must be able to rise to the present and future requirements imposed by their members and society as a whole. Even in the current of daily work, trade unions keep in mind that, with the building of a socialist society, an opportunity has presented itself for a social system to function as a harmonious system in comparison with previous societies. However, the creation of this harmony can only be the result of a protracted process, and it does not come about automatically. It can never be absolutely harmonious, because a socialist society is not devoid, either, of objective contradictions and their effects. However, it has its specific means to resolve contradictions and these means must be exploited -- and we intend to exploit them.

In our country, too, it is not easy for forms of trade union activity to become consistent with social development and its circumstances. Consequently, we cannot yet regard our work in many respects as satisfactory. However, a change is coming to maturity and making progress.

SUM OF DEBT RESCHEDULING AGREEMENTS $7.1 BILLION

LD121842 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] During a press conference, held during an interval in the session of the Sejm, Stanislaw Nieckarz announced that an agreement with a group of commercial banks on rescheduling part of the Polish debt, involving approximately 95 percent of the capital sum, would be signed in London tomorrow. Together with the annual agreements, signed over the past few years, the total sum of this agreement is 7.1 billion dollars.

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON RETURN TO ILO

LD121918 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Warsaw, July 12 (PAP) -- Poland's Foreign Ministry official said here today that Poland's return to the International Labour Organization "does not depend on Poland, but on the removal of the causes behind our decision to suspend this cooperation." The official, vice-director Henryk Sokalski, from the Foreign Ministry's International Organizations Department, complained in the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA today that "we do not note any signs of good will on the part of ILO's decision-making."

Asked whether "the Polish issue" still existed in the international forum Henryk Sokalski replied: "The term 'issue' itself, in an international context implies resolving actions. Nothing needs to be resolved as regards Poland in such a context. There are only Polish matters for the Poles to solve on their own. There is, however, an anti-Polish campaign stemming chiefly from ideological motives and confrontational orientations of some governments."

Asked to comment on the allegation that the Polish Government was reluctant to tackle the human rights issue, Henryk Sokalski countered: "Had it been true, international cooperation in the area of human rights would not have been one of the canons of Polish foreign policy." "The allegations are false. It seems that the problem lies in an incomplete comprehension of what the human rights are. Only peace and social justice in its broad sense can ensure full human rights. The two notions are the cornerstone of the socialist system's philosophy, whilst the human rights are frequently identified with an undefined scope of freedom."

"I cannot agree with the thesis contained in this question, considering Poland's international obligations to respect human rights. Poland is a signatory to all principal detailed reports on their realisation to appropriate U.N. bodies. Human rights must not be treated selectively, as our critics often treat them," added Henryk Sokalski.

JARUZELSKI, SAMARANCH ATTEND POZNAN YOUTH GAMES

AU111016 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] PAP -- On Sunday, 8 July, at the "Olimpia" Stadium in Poznan, the 11th National Youth Games [Spartakiada] were ceremoniously opened. The games, a great festival of youth sport, are taking place in the 40th year of People's Poland. Ten thousand young people met with former sports champions and European and world record holders at the Poznan stadium. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier and PZPR Central Committee first secretary, attended the ceremonies.

The following were also present: Politburo members and PZPR Central Committee secretaries Stanislaw Kalkus, Henryk Bednarski, and Waldemar Swirgon; Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the PZPR Central Committee Socioprofessional Department; ministers; leaders of Polish youth unions; and top officials from Poznan city and region.

Juan Antonio Samaranch, chairman of the International Olympic Committee [IOC], took part in the opening ceremony. The invited guests included representatives of the leaderships of sports organizations in the following socialist countries: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, and the USSR.

About 10,000 young people are competing in the games. The 11th games are sponsored by the IOC.

SPOKESMAN JERZY URBAN VISITS CUBA, SPAIN

For reportage on Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's visit to Cuba, including a report on a meeting with alternate Politburo member and full Secretariat member Antonio Perez Herrero, see the Cuba section of the 12 July Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

For Madrid coverage of the visit to Spain by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, including his comments at a press conference, see the Spain section of the 13 July Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

'RULES OF CONDUCT' IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS

AU111140 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jul 84 p 6

[Ignacy Krasicki article: "East-West Relations -- What Are the Rules of Conduct?"]

[Excerpts] The world socialist system has existed for almost 70 years now and in this time, its relations with the capitalist system have shaped themselves in various ways. When Soviet Russia was alone and still relatively weak, the capitalist West was striving to deal with it by using armed intervention.

The rules of conduct during the present period of development of East-West relations, and so, during the phase of the growing confrontation caused by NATO, is dictated by the supreme order to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. During his visit last year to certain central European countries, U.S. Vice President George Bush did not hide the fact that for the United States, greater tension between East and West, particularly between Moscow and Washington, is tantamount to increasing the pressure it exerts aimed at setting the socialist community at odds with one another and setting individual member-countries against the main power, that is, the Soviet Union. Bush also openly expressed Washington's interest in the processes and mechanisms that occur within certain spheres of the socialist community, ones that aggravate internal difficulties and lead to attempts at reviving the capitalist system and ultimately increase, rather than decrease, the distance separating the USSR and the other more developed socialist states.

The principal rule of conduct, particularly at this moment, in response to the challenge of the Reagan administration, which is implementing its anticommunist and anti-Soviet strategy, is, therefore, the necessity for the comprehensive consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community -- in all spheres -- political, ideological, and social, with the most important, the economic sphere, being foremost. It is in view of this that the recently concluded CEMA "summit" in Moscow takes on a particular significance and importance.

To summarize, one could say that, the struggle between the world socialist and capitalis system has entered a new, acute phase of confrontation. The fact that the West is ideologizing its relations with the East, using increasingly aggressive forms of activity, and is clearly apprehensive of peaceful coexistence and detente, is a sign of the weakness of the capitalist world and a further change in the balance of forces to the disadvantage of imperialism.

In this new phase in the shaping of East-West relations, the socialist community, which is consolidating its unity and cohesion, is resolutely and consistently defending the status quo in Europe and is unyieldingly guarding over the balance of power and security in the world.

All this contributes to the fact that the primary orders and rules of conduct that arise today for socialist countries, who defend peace and detente, are fully concordant with not only the class-based, but also the national raison d'etat of the Polish state. This is, from our point of view, and especially in view of the past 40 years of the PPR, currently the most important conclusion.

POLITYKA VIEWS ZHAO ZIYANG'S EUROPEAN TRIP

AU121145 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Jul 84 p 12

[Andrzej Helimarski article: "China -- Trip to the 'Third Azimuth'"]

[Excerpt] The 18-day visit of PRC Premier Zhao Ziyang to France, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Italy, as well as to the Common Market headquarters in Brussels was all but ignored by the world press, except perhaps for the countries directly concerned.

It could be that this unconcern was a result of the fact that the leading Chinese politicians have recently been making many trips abroad, that such trips have ceased to be special events and tasty morsels to be snapped up by mass media, and that these trips have been rather of a working character. However, it is certain that his unconcern is connected with the fact that China's presence in various regions of our globe continues to increase from day to day. I think that the PRC premier's trip to Europe was interesting for many reasons. It was only the second trip to Western Europe by such a high PRC leader.

ZHAO Ziyang, who presented himself with a smile on his face and was relaxed in his fashionable suit, startled everyone by his energy, his knowledge of the subjects under discussion and of their details, and by his sense of humor. He was a tireless visitor, touring many places, meeting hundreds and hundreds of people, mainly representatives of big business, and holding many press conferences, at which he excelled in repartees without looking at "aids" and at which he spoke without any notes. He continued to bend over backwards in avoiding the pose of a schoolmaster.

The political aspect of the visit: Hua Guofeng, the CPC leader who preceded Zhao Ziyang, visited Europe 5 years ago as an open advocate of international tension and an ardent champion of the "antihegemonist front," which at that time was directed solely at the USSR. Hua Guofeng's speeches, especially those in London, were compared to W. Churchill's Fulton speech, which had initiated the "cold war." The Chinese leader did not make it a secret that the main prupose of his visit was to warn the West not to succumb to the "illusions of detente" and to the East's "siren song about the need for peace" and to induce the West to talk to the USSR from "positions of strength." Hua stressed at every step the necessity to station the new U.S. Eurostrategic missiles in Western Europe (this took place a few weeks before NATO made a decision on this issue). He also came out in favor of German unification along the Bonn lines. The political aspects of his visit dominated its economic aspects.

Zhao Ziyang's visit 5 years later was of a different character and had different points of emphasis. Beginning his trip in Paris, the PRC premier said: "I have come here in search of peace, friendship, and cooperation." He also appealed for a representative conference of the five nuclear powers to discuss reductions in nuclear armaments. He stressed China's independent foreign policy, spoke of the Chinese people's love of peace and stability, appealed for resuming the Soviet-American dialogue, advocated improved relations between the two parts of Europe, and pleaded for curbing the nuclear missile potential of the two superpowers and for maintaining the balance of power at the lowest possible level. He also expressed sympathy and understanding for the pacifist movements on the "old continent."

Acknowledging the general stresses in the speeches made by the Chinese premier, one is nevertheless bound to note that he delegated the blame for the violent deterioration of the international situation equally to Washington and Moscow, which cannot be viewed as an objective action. Judging by the Chinese premier's remarks, the Chinese side seems to share the Western view that the breakdown of the Geneva talks is the reason for the present situation and to ignore the real reasons for it.

Those aspects of the Chinese premier's confidential talks with the West European leaders that the Western press has published make it obvious that China "has expressed understanding" for the NATO decision to station the cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe and has described this decision as "defensive."

Zhao avoided making anti-Soviet declarations, stressing the resolve to continue the dialogue of the USSR, but did not fail to saddle Moscow with the responsibility for the fact that the Sino-Soviet relations have still not been normalized. He also expressed concern over the presence of the SS-20 missiles in the Asian part of the USSR, but did not mention the U.S. missiles in South Korea, in the Philippines, in Japan, and in the Far East seas. He also tried to make light of the significance of the most recent armed clashes along the Sino-Vietnamese border, stressing that they were of a "restricted and local character" and laying the blame for this situation at Hanoi's door. This proved to be a distinct dissonance in view of the many declarations in favor of peace and coexistence that he made in connection with his government's foreign policy.

Premier Zhao's European trip was meant to stress the importance of the "third Western azimuth" in PRC policy. The partners in Europe have been clearly disturbed by the fact that Beijing has continued to focus its attention on relations with Tokyo (Hu Yaobang's visit to Japan and Nakasone's visit to China) and with Washington (the Chinese premier's visit to the United States and President Reagan's visit to China) and has bestowed a privileged position on these two countries. The visit to Western Europe was meant to allay concerns in this connection. The Chinese side made special efforts to stress the strategic significance of integrated Western Europe as a "sovereign political factor that is independent of the two superpowers." This seems to indicate that the "concept of the five entities" -- composed of the PRC, the United States, Japan, Western Europe, and the USSR -- continues to be an important element of the international game of Chinese diplomacy and that Beijing is resolved to maintain differentiated relations with the leading centers of the capitalist world, trying to profit from the differences and rivalries between these centers.

The credo of PRC policy vis-a-vis Western Europe was formulated like this by the Chinese premier at his press conference in Italy on the last day of his visit to Europe: "Friendship and cooperation between a strong and united Europe that wants to determine its own destiny and between China that follows an independent policy are important factors in preserving world peace and stability and in curbing the rivalry between the two superpowers."

This stand is illustrated by the Beijing-stressed importance that China attaches to cooperation with the individual Common Market countries as well as the Common Market as a whole.

FINNISH CP TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS WITH CPSU

AU111540 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 84 p 6

[Waldemar Kedaj article: "Following the 20th Finnish Communist Party Congress -- Responsibility of the Communists"]

[Text] The press has published long reports, commentaries, and analyses in connection with the Finnish Communist Party Congress, and television beamed special programs on it. When the congress of a political party, which is in opposition, is able to attract so much interest all over the country, it is an obvious sign that it is an important event and the party a significant force, even though it is difficulties rather than successes that were discussed at it.

The Finnish Communist Party, which held its 20th congress in Helsinki at the end of May, is the largest and most influential communist party in Scandinavia and is among the strongest parties in Western Europe. The congress coincided with the 40th anniversary of the party's emerging from oblivion and returning to legal activities, which have made their permanent and positive impact on Finland's postwar history. As the main force of the Democratic Union of the Finnish People, which was set up in 1944, and which is a parliamentary organization of the Communist and left-wing Socialists, the Finnish Communist Party has been in the government on several occasions -- up to 1948, and between 1966 and the end of 1982. The Communists' inspiring contribution to the implementation of important socioeconomic reforms and to the modernization of many areas of Finnish life, and the Finnish Communist Party's constructive role in strengthening the line of Finland's postwar foreign policy based on neutrality and friendly and neighborly relations with the USSR have often been praised by the Finnish left wing and other factions. In 1958 the Democratic Union of the Finnish People held 50 of the 200 seats in the Finnish parliament, which is called the Eduskunta.

In the 1983 parliamentary election the Union won 14 percent of the votes and 27 seats. The most recent public polls have indicated that its popularity is continuing to decrease by several percentage points. Unfavorable trends have also come to the fore in the Finnish Communist Party: Following the exchange of party cards in 1983, it turned out that the number of party members had slumped 16 percent and now stands at 33,500. There are various reasons for this: One important one is the ongoing complexity of the domestic situation, new social and economic probkems, the extensive changes in the social structure because of the country's speedy industrialization. and the shrinking or the ideological disarray of the groups constituting the traditional base of support for the Communists.

On the other hand, party members concede that the party's long-standing internal disruption, which is illustrated by the division into a so-called majority and minority, has also made a negative impact on the cohesion of party ranks and on the party's image among the Finnish people. This disruption became apparent as long ago as the end of the fifties and gained in strength 10 years later against the background of differences on some problems of party theory and practice, including the issue of the peaceful road to socialism or of the removal of the notion of "proletarian dictatorship" from the party program.

After the 19th party congress in 1983, which elected Jouko Kajanoja, who represents the third, compromising, stream of the party, as party chairman, a serious attempt was made to overcome the harmful two-tiered condition of the party, the existence of two parallel organizations, the violations of party discipline, and the failure to implement adopted resolutions. A year ago it was agreed that the Communists should take a unified stand when acting within their parliamentary group and it was decided to publish a joint weekly called YHTEISTYO (COOPERATION), and in the future to settle the issue of the daily TIEDONANTAVA, which, since 1968, has been published by the "minority" side by side with the official organ KANSAN UUTISET.

The 20th Congress of the Finnish Communist Party, which was regarded as an important forum convened for the purpose of restoring long-expected unity, had the task of adopting the theses of a new action program for Finnish Communists up to the year 2000. This program will be discussed by party organizations beginning next October and will be submitted for acceptance to the 21st party congress in 1987. The theses stress that the Finnish Communist Party is a revolutionary party based on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Its strategy is the establishment of a democratic front capable of curbing the power of large capital, of guaranteeing and accelerating the implementation of essential socioeconomic reform, and of intensifying the struggle against reactionary policy and for consolidating peace. The party stresses the need to democratize relations in factories and to develop self-management bodies. It also wants to promote the slogan "Building socialism at work," which was put forward in the past.

The resolution on international policy adopted by the congress states the following to be chief task of the Finnish international workers movement: Combining working people's struggle for democratic rights and socialist transformations with the struggle to prevent a nuclear war from breaking out. The Communists have indicated the need for an energetic Finnish peace policy as something which is in the firm interests of the nation. They also regard it as essential to step up the struggle of the entire workers movement in Scandinavia to bring about a Nordic nuclear-free zone, which is particularly urgent because of the start of Euromissile deployment. The importance of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid was stressed as a basis for a peaceful Finnish foreign policy. It was also said that a strong Finnish Communist Party is essential in order to guarantee the continuity of this policy.

Despite the importance of its subjects, the congress' discussion was marred, as occassionally in the past, by organizational matters. The mediation attempted by the "third stream" in the party was unable to bring about agreement, which, for example, was demonstrated by the failure of plans for a joint press policy. The congress declared last year's Central Committee decision on this issue as impossible to implement and suspended the publication of the YHTEISTYO weekly, which will be replaced by a new theoretical-political periodical.

The main division within the party has been caused for many years by the question of the Communist's participation in the Finnish Government. Although the congress decided that the party should not support the present government, which follows a bourgeois policy, the "majority" faction of the party deems it possible to cooperate with the Social Democrats in the future, while the "minority" faction calls for uncompromising opposition. But, as it was noted at the congress, it is a fact that present differences apply to organizational and very often to personnel matters.

These differences have also affected congress decisions. In the face of a failure to reach an agreement concerning the division of seats of the party authorities, representatives of the "majority" are the sole people forming the new Central Committee Politburo. The new party chairman is Arvo Alto, previously secretary general, and the secretary general is now Aarno Aitamurto, a long-standing party and union activist.

Having criticized the new election procedure that has been adopted (by 181 votes to 166), the "minority," which has gained 8 out of the 17 party seats, has announced that it will call for the convening of an extraordinary party congress within 6 months.

The congress did not fulfill the hope that the party would be restored to its complete unity. However, as new party Chairman Arvo Aalto stressed, the party had not been formally disrupted, despite many speculations and persisting difficulties and internal divisions. Conceding that the course of the congress could have disturbed the fraternal parties in many countries, he said that special responsiblity devolved on the present leadership of the Finnish Communist Party. Noting that it is necessary to seek genuine party unity, he stressed that the 20th congress had reaffirmed the party's Marxist-Leninist foundations and its resolution to strengthen fraternal relations with the CPSU -- relations based on mutual trust -- and to promote activities in favor of friendly Finnish-Soviet relations.

One way to test the cohesion of the party and its present position among the people may be the communal elections next fall. It is significant that, stressing positive features of the past few years such as the common front of the Communists in Parliament, in peace movements, in many factories, in youth and social organizations, and in intelligentsia communities, many party activists believe that it is possible to preserve party unity and to gradually overcome party divisons by various measures, including the discussion of the theses of the new party program. They maintain that the future will be determined by the party grassroots, by factories, and by primary organizations.

POLISH-LITHUANIAN RALLY MARKS 40TH ANNIVERSARY

AU111142 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 9 July on page 2 carries a 350-word report signed "ALZ" on a friendship rally that took place in Sejny, Suwalski Voivodship, on July 7, involving the local population and 800 invited representatives from 'friendly' cities and workplaces in the Lithuanian SSR. The report states that the following Lithuanian officials were present: Autanas Barkauskas, CPSU Central Committee candidate member, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Pietras Ingatas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Komsomol.

The rally is said to have "taken place to mark the 40th anniversary of People's Poland." At the end of the rally, an appeal was adopted which states: "Our societies know very well the price of war. On behalf of the millions of people whose ashes lie scattered on Polish and Soviet soil, our society calls for common sense and remembrance. We support the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and the appeal of the Warsaw Pact states calling for a treaty on the nonuse of force and the preservation of peaceful relations. We demand a constructive approach toward the unchangingly peaceful initiatives of the USSR, and the socialist countries, for the sake of peace on earth."

SEJM SESSION DEBATES ECONOMIC, BUDGET REPORTS

LD121123 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Excerpts] A Sejm session opened today at 0900. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski are present.

The report of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance was delivered by Deputy Jan Kaminski. He stressed that last year, for the first time in 4 years, there was an increase in the national income. Feeding the population was provided for and a certain improvement in supply of goods other than food was achieved. Another positive phenomenon was consistent implementation of the economic reform and improvement of its mechanisms, as well as the introduction of government orders which aided in maintaining operational plans and the implementation of savings and anti-inflationary programs.

Unfortunately, trends limiting the pace and balance of economic development also occurred, among which the deputy mentioned the excessive growth of incomes in relation to the growth of production, and a significant overspending on investment projects. Also the development of exports was slowed down, mainly in the electrical engineering industry. The economic processes influenced the implementation of the state budget. There was progress in balancing the state budget in 1983: The budget deficit amounted to Z25 billion against the forecast Z151 billion. This results from a faster growth of incomes against expenditure, and was also caused by a higher inflow of funds from among others, the turnover tax. Jan Kaminski, speaking about the balance sheet of incomes and expenditure of the population, stated that unfortunately it deviated very considerably from the plan.

With regard to the payments situation [as heard], the deputy stressed that it continues to be difficult and that it has a decisive influence on the possible return to economic equilibrium.

Following the report of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance, the deputies entered into debate.

Approves Government Reports

LD121458 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Excerpt] After the discussion ended, the voting took place. With two abstentions the Sejm has approved the government reports on the execution of the state budget for 1983, execution of the credit plan, the balance of income and spending of the population, Poland's balance of payments, the implementation of the socioeconomic plan, and administration of the Culture Development Fund. The Sejm has granted the government the vote of acceptance of accounts for last year.

WRITER NOWAKOWSKI INDICTED FOR SLANDERING STATE

LD121152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 12 Jul 84

[From the press review]

[Text] The Military Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw has submitted to the Warsaw Military District Court an act of indictment against Marek Nowakowski, a lawyer and writer resident in Warsaw. The act of indictment accuses Nowakowski of slandering the political system and the state of Poland and infringment of Polish currency regulations. The court will decide, writes TRYBUNA LUDU, whether the accused, who is not under arrest, has really committed such deeds. But it is known already that neither the act of indictment nor the trial are directed, as implied by the hostile press and radio campaign in the West, against Marek Nowakowski as a writer, but against Nowakowski as a citizen who broke the laws which apply to everybody to an equal degree.

TRIAL CONTINUES ON DEATH OF STUDENT PRZEMYK

LD121902 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Summary] The trial on the death of Grzegorz Przemyk is continuing before the voivodship court in Warsaw. Defense councillors for Ireneusz K. and Arkadiusz D., the militiamen accused of beating up Przemyk, as well as those of Pawel W. and Bronislaw J., doctors at the first aid center accused of misdiagnosing the health of Przemyk, moved to acquit the above-mentioned defenders. The trial continues.

TRIAL OF KOR LEADERS OPENS; DEMONSTRATION HELD

NC130849 Paris AFP in English 0846 GMT 13 Jul 84

[Text] Warsaw, July 13 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa and about 50 supporters staged a half-hour demonstration this morning outside Warsaw military court as the trial opened of four leaders of the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] human rights group -- communist Poland's first organised opposition.

The defendants, charged with conspiring against the state are: Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and Henry Wujec who have been detained since December 1981 and Zbiegniew Romaszewski arrested in August 1982. The four held positions with Mr. Walesa's Solidarity free union until it was outlawed on December 13, 1981. KOR, the Workers Self-Defence Committee, itself disbanned in September 1981.

The large police contingent outside the court allowed the demonstration to run for 30 minutes then ordered the group to disperse. Mr. Walesa, who declined to make a statement, saying merely that he had not yet been summoned to give evidence, drove away with two former Solidarity advisers.

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI ADDRESS COUNCIL CHAIRMEN

Social Trust, Credibility

AU101129 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7/8 Jul 84 p 2

[Report on speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the first meeting of the chairmen of the voivodship people's councils in their new postelection term of office, on 6 July at the State Council in Warsaw]

[Text] Premier Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor at the conclusion of the meeting and shared the satisfaction expressed by the newly elected people's councils regarding their chance of taking part in this meeting with the representatives of the party leadership, other political parties, and the government. The meeting's main feature, Premier Jaruzelski stressed, is its worker-based and concrete nature. W. Jaruzelski indicated the great opportunity that the new law on people's councils and the regional self-governing bodies created, both in the sphere of the socioeconomic activities of the representative bodies, as in consolidating the social accord that is so essential to Poland's further development, because the activities of the people's councils are a suitable forum on which the trend for accord can gain additional incentive, and spur society into performing the tasks undertaken by the people's councils.

W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, emphasized that it is exceptionally important that everything we spoke of before the elections -- that what is and will be our program -- is confirmed and made credible in our daily work. The struggle for social trust and credibility -- that is the key issue necessary for the activization of our national affairs and for releasing the great reserves that exist in social, economic, and cultural affairs in every sphere of activity.

We find ourselves, the premier said, at the advanced stage of socialist renewal -- of democratization, decentralization, and the development of self-government. The activities of the people's councils can and should emphasize and confirm the rightness and the effectiveness of these measures and the policy line adopted by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

W. Jaruzelski then pointed out the role of the people's councils in the process of the great sociopolitical, economic, and legal education of our society in order for it to be able to combine more successfully and harmoniously what is important from the point of view of a given group, environment, or region, with what is supreme, social, and national in the broadest sense of the word. This is essential to the shaping of the sense of a citizenlike responsibility for the state. We want to have as much socialist democracy as possible -- democracy understood as people's power ludowladztwo], and involving citizens in the processes of management, joint government, and self-government. But we cannot, the premier emphasized, separate democracy from discipline. Democracy and self-government will only be fully effective when democratically made decisions are implemented with total consistency, checked, and accounted for. Only this kind of democracy will be of social, national benefit.

Speaking of the tasks facing the people's councils, the premier stressed their role in consolidating socialist justice. They should absorb the genuine assessment made by society, endorse and draft it, and then set the expedient tasks for these assessments before the appropriate administrative bodies.

W. Jaruzelski stressed that the following unequivocably stems from the law on people's councils: the servitude of the administration toward the representative bodies. He also expressed the hope that the administration's activities and its difficult work will be understood and supported by the people's councils.

Reminding the participants that the meeting is taking place on the threshold of the 40th anniversary of the PPR, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stressed that the people's authorities and their representative bodies are the executors of historic justice, and of the revolutionary reforms that have been brought about in our country. The socialist renewal and the consolidation of the PPR is the logical continuation of these processes.

Progressing Normalization

AU101417 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7/8 July 84 p 2

[Text] PAP -- State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski addressed a meeting of chairmen of voivodship people's councils at the Sejm building in Warsaw on 6 July.

He said that the elections which gave birth to the new people's councils can be assessed from various angles, just like any important event. There is no doubt that the elections have been an expression of the progressing political and social normalization throughout the country, and a sign of support by the majority of citizens for the idea of national accord, despite the unusually strong calls for boycotts made by those longing to see the country once again in the throes of anarchy. These elections have also been a heavy setback for these people's foreign sponsors.

The most important conclusion stemming from the elections has been formulated by the country's political leadership, which recognized the election results as a commitment on itself immediately after the results were published. In addition to being influenced by general political factors, the attitudes of citizens toward the elections were also influenced by the fact that the new people's councils will possess powers they have never had before.

The councils are becoming true managers over their areas of activity. They are bodies of local self-management, possessing at the same time both guaranteed influence on the policy of the central authorities and supervisory functions over administrative bodies. According to the new law, it is a self-management body that controls the activity of administrative bodies and not vice versa, as was the case before World War II.

Local democracy, of which our people's council system is an expression, depends on the application of forms and methods to suit local needs and conditions, H. Jablonski stressed. It depends on priority being given to those matters which are the most important ones in a given area or place and have the greatest significance from the point of view of the local population. One must remember at the same time that the councils are an integral part of state authority, and that Poland is not a federation of voivodships. The self-management function of the people's councils cannot mean that every people's council and local community can only concentrate on its own affairs and only within the frontiers of its own voivodship or rural district. Such a treatment of self-management, irrespective of the difference between the problems and characteristics of each unit of local self-management, would lead to parochialism; it would divide the community instead of cementing it together and would weaken the state instead of strengthening it.

H. Jablonski said that the law clearly strengthens the position of the people's councils vis-a-vis the supreme and central bodies of authority, and reminded the participants in the meeting about the councils' increased powers, granted by the law, to jointly shape state policy. The powers of the councils to present opinions on draft decisions by the central authorities, initiate such decisions, inspire new laws, and make changes to the country's territorial division are an imminent expression of the two-day connections between the central authorities and the local authorities. Hence, the councils are not merely executors of policy which is adopted higher up or somewhere else, but are becoming the joint creators of general state policy, possessing joint responsibility for its implementation through the correct control of social life in their areas of activity.

By situating the people's councils together with self-management bodies of residents inside the system of local self-management, the country's legislators have created a new constitutional and political quality of people's councils, H. Jablonski pointed out. Such a position of the people's councils and such a definition of their self-management role suits the above-mentioned powers and tasks, which are to be performed independently on the basis of adopted programs, socioeconomic plans, local budgets, and environmental projects.

H. Jablonski said that programs presented by local councils of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] are, of course, the starting point for working out programs and plans, after taking into account the discussions that took place during the pre-election campaign and weighing up desires and possibilities as fully as possible. He stressed that this is highly important work facing every people's council. Its importance cannot be overvalued.

Although the new people's councils are receiving the 3-year plans up to 1985 adopted by their predecessors, they are still faced with working out and adopting plans for the years 1986-90 plus annual plans.

In the existing general situation, regional planning activity requires increased insight, common sense, and caution. It requires, above all, a careful coordination of the function of local plans as documents which sepcify general state programs on the one hand, with their function as documents outlining ways to satisfy the needs of the local population, on the other.

People's councillors will always have the final word when it comes to planning decisions, H. Jablonski stressed. That is why one must take great care to make projects presented at meetings understandable to every councillor, even to those who have the least experience in planning work. The above care should particularly be applied to draft budgets. Concern for accuracy, which is understandable in financial matters, cannot exonerate one from the duty to make documents presented before the council readable. Because greater care is required in this sphere under the present conditions, councillors must have a full knowledge of the practical meaning of the document they are adopting. A general principle behind the self-financing activity of people's councils is the legal observance of the need to create and preserve budgetary equilibrium and the appropriate financial stability. Thus, every people's council should control the execution of the regional budget as a matter of permanent routine.

The composition of the people's councils has been fundamentally altered as a result of the June elections, H. Jablonski continued. We are now dealing with a new generation of councillors, not all of them perhaps adequately acquainted with their rights and duties and not always fully aware of the legal conditions under which they have to act, but, on the other hand, not inundated with the customs and habits which would hamper their growing accustomed to the new activity rules of the peoples' councils. A councillor should quickly become a central figure in the system of local authority, surrounded with the respect of the local population and that of administrative and economic institutions. However, this will not occur automatically. A councillor must gain prestige among the surrounding population by means of his own activity. The attitudes of authorities, organizations, and institutions can merely affect this prestige positively or negatively. The presidiums of people's councils should concentrate on helping councillors with their work, affording them suitable legal protection, and guaranteeing the effectiveness of the opinion and motions voiced by them.

Let us be aware, H. Jablonski continued, that every councillor representing his electors is also obliged to coordinate group and local interests with those of the state and society in general. In this way, councillors become not only activists on a local scale, but activists on a wider national scale as well. They will bear special responsibility for skillfully matching local trends with those stemming from national interests. Such is the position granted to councillors by the new law. We must do everything we can to help this large community of state activists in their work.

Speaking about the need to learn to use the new work methods in a skillful way, H. Jablonski stressed that old economic instruments are no longer suitable for an economy based on economic reform principles because they may do more harm than good. The new instruments are more complicated than the old ones, which suited the old system of directives and distribution of tasks. They require higher qualifications and greater confidence, whereas the old instruments were straightforward and ingrained people with lasting habits. These habits and hurriedness in becoming used to the new work practices and methods are another danger facing the newly elected people's councils.

The people's councils will be able to perform the abovementioned tasks and the still greater range of unmentioned tasks more effectively than before because of the support of self-management bodies of residents, which, thanks to the new law have risen in the hierarchy of local democratic institutions and now have the role of full partners of the people's councils.

Doing away with the principle whereby self-management bodies have been treated as ancillary bodies to the administration, the law has equipped these bodies with the power to form opinions, voice conclusions, and make decisions. One hopes that these increased powers will make the work of the self-management bodies of residents more attractive and increase their significance in the eyes of citizens. Every primary-level people's council must consider how it wishes to communicate its tasks to the self-management body of residents and thus relieve itself of matters concerning only an urban district or settlement.

The chief form of expression of a council's will at a meeting is the resolution, H. Jablonski said. Councillors should be involved to a greater extent than before in the preparation of draft resolutions and they should have greater confidence in performing this work. Their opinions should be sought and their view asked on the subject of the topics meant to be covered in the resolution. It is also essential for people's council commissions to present opinions on draft resolutions. Social consultations should be made use of much more frequently than up to now.

The new law has made the councils a supreme body of authority in local law, restricting the powers in this respect possessed by administrative bodies to exceptional matters. Therefore, every council must review from time to time the rules which have been adopted and determine which of them are to remain in force. This is an activity of no mean importance from the point of view of the legal functioning of the councils. It must be performed very carefully in order for local law to be clear and understandable to every citizen.

H. Jablonski recalled that the new law calls for close cooperation between both sectors of local authority: the citizens sector and the professional-official sector. He said that both sectors complement each other, aiming as they do toward the same goals, and serving society in the same way. The superiority of people's councils above the state administration to the extent that the state administration is the executor of people's council decisions should not cause the councils to possess a lack of initiative. Stronger people's councils do not at all mean that administrative bodies will become weaker. One can say that the opposite is true: The strengthening of the people's councils and an increase in their powers also directly strengthens local bodies of state administration, providing them with considerable social support.

Correct use of the opportunities presented by the new law and by the elections, H. Jablonski concluded, will be important not only for local communities. The people's councils may and should encourage a strengthening of our socialist statehood.

INFLUENCE OF MARITIME INDUSTRY ON INFRASTRUCTURE

PM121131 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 22 Jun 84 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Bejger, Politburo candidate member, chairman of the Central Committee Maritime Commission, first secretary of Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, by Andrzej Pierscinski; date and place not given]

[Text] Pierscinski: For the past 40 years we, the Polish people, have owned more than 500 kilometers of sea coastline. It is for the first time in our history that that "window opening out to the world" is open so wide, but it was only a few weeks ago that this "window" became the focus of attention of the PPR Sejm as a result of which an act was passed in recognition of supreme importance of the rights and obligations deriving from the sea in the life of the nation, of the preservation and utilization of the Baltic....

Bejger: Indeed, I think that it makes an exceptionally interesting subject for historians and sociologists to research, to understand the reasons why a state which since the dawn of its independent existence has had access to the sea had been treating it in such an offhand way. I am thinking here about the entire stretch of Poland's history. But to go back to the recent years, to the years of People's Poland, it is true what you said. Our attitude to the sea has varied at different stages of our most recent past. Depending on the centrally fostered views on the role and significance of maritime economy in the country's general economy, at certain times attempts were made to accomplish something concrete with the aim of strengthening the state's maritime status and at other times activity in that sphere was only feigned, or rumors were propagated about the alleged necessity to close shipyards.

The extent of the effort required to prove the fact -- which ought to be obvious to all -- that the sea can only make us wealthier and that its connection with the land is not restricted to the shoreline is best known to those among our party, administrative, and economic activists from the coastal region who have endlessly walked the corridors of Warsaw's high offices and doggedly attempted to persuade the unpersuaded that maritime economy is inseparably bound up with the country's interests and, moreover, that in many areas its development constitutes a precondition for the development of other, seemingly strictly landbound, spheres of life.

Even when it looked as if the central powers-that-be had permanently turned on the proverbial green light for maritime matters, the light was never completely clear and bright. It was not always effective but, at times, merely flashy. The past decades did, however, bring a definite improvement of the situation on the coast. It is possible to reel off a list of new investments easily, without having to jog one's memory. But unfortunately the basic duty of a good manager has been neglected here, that of ensuring that the development is balanced on all sides. Hence the gaps between what has been done for the maritime industry and the whole infrastructure of social welfare, housing, and even production issues.

Every administration, and regional administration in particular, is obliged to look after its regional concerns, to fight and argue for obtaining solutions to its local problems. But to solve one problem does not mean that other problems will get solved too. And the state's welfare and strength require that we think in terms of general issues and that goods are not delivered just because some projects may sound fine, or out of someone's general benevolence, but because there exist well justified needs, judged in terms of state interest. It was only our party, in its Ninth PZPR Congress resolution, which stated the position clearly. The PZPR Central Committee's 10th Plenum, where maritime concerns were tackled at such a high level for the first time in the history of our party, was the consequence of the realization of the "maritime" provision of the congress resolution. It was also on that occasion, 18 months ago, that the Central Committee Maritime Commission -- which I am privileged to chair -- was created.

Pierscinski: Forgive me, but in Poland we specialize in resolutions, commissions, and conferences, the decisions of which remain, unfortunately, on paper, even if they are the most correct and justified....

Bejger: That is an exaggeration. I would not go to such extremes in formulating propositions about our Polish specialization in this field. It is true that we incline to "verbiage", which is then interpreted very widely and which does not always yield tangible results, but let us not generalize so -- after all, the whole range of our achievements over the past 40 years, not just meaning our maritime economy alone, is very extensive and indisputable, and proves that something does, after all, remain, and is created, out of all that "verbiage."

As regards the Central Committee's "Maritime Resolution" and the work of the Central Committee Maritime Commission, I can assure you that its activity is not merely paper, or feigned, work. The commission's efforts have become a real mover for economic and social transformations on the Baltic coast and throughout the country.

We have investigated in practical terms every one of the national maritime issues which are the most pressing for the maritime economy and most vital for the national economy. Take, for example, the commission's recent conference, held in Kolobrzeg, where we discussed one of the more important issues, that of fishing in the Baltic and the base for it. After all, sea fishing involves more than the fishing fleet, the processing factories, and the fishermen. It involves the question of supplying our domestic market with hundreds of tons of fish protein, which is so very good for us, that of obtaining animal feed and, finally, that of offering us a chance to reduce our dollar debts by selling fish abroad. Thus the question of a fish-factory trawler, or a freezer trawler, acquires a general national significance and must be viewed in those terms.

Pierscinski: But making a decision and pointing out the significance of that decision, even its nationwide significance, does not yet provide assurance that it will be realized.

Bejger: We are well aware in the Maritime Commission that our position is only a beginning, but you must believe that the commission does not just rest content with providing ideas and pointing out to our state and economic administration what needs to be done. We also check to see that our words do not fall on deaf ears, that the Central Committee resolutions are being realized. We are in any case obliged to submit our reports to the Central Committee in the form of assessments of their realization. For example, we did that at the 14th Central Committee plenum.

Pierscinski: How does that point of contact between theory and practice work?

Bejger: All in all, not too badly. To give you an example: On 8 November 1982 the Council of Ministers approved an operations schedule involving, among other things, the preparation of 15 comprehensive targets of conceptual and programmatic nature. These included, inter alia, organizational-systems solutions for the whole of our maritime economy complex; securing Poland's maritime interests in the international arena; preparing a blueprint for the management of Poland's economic zone in the Baltic; working out the tenets of maritime education, and so on. Specialist opinions, experts' reports, and the realization of the tasks specified in the schedule enabled us to formulate the final version of a document entitled "The Maritime Policy of the Polish People's Republic." On 5 March this year the Central Committee Maritime Commission evaluated this document. We judged it to be a mature and comprehensive study. After we gave our opinion on it, on 19 March the Government Presidium discussed the document, taking into consideration the commission's position and formulating its own resolutions specifying the most vital tasks for the ministries and other central organs. In this way we completed an important stage in formulating the country's maritime policy. We were also instrumental in the passing of Council of Ministers Resolution 42 on the shipbuilding industry.

Pierscinski: Let us go back to what we call, in brief, the maritime Poland. After all, the fact that we are expanding our shipyards, our ports, and our fleet does not guarantee that our nation will become truly sea-oriented, that is, retaining in its mentality the fact that its country borders the sea, and being fully aware that this fact places certain obligations on it and repays these with certain benefits.

Bejger: This is absolutely correct. A nation's maritime character is also encoded in its soul -- if I may, as a Marxist, use this expression in its materialist sense, denoting the nation's mentality. It means that maritime concerns are correctly understood not just by individuals, or groups, but by the nation as a whole. We, the maritime activists from the coast, understand this perfectly and we regard it as our duty to popularize this thesis and to "infect" Poland with this maritime orientation. I think we are getting increasingly better results in this. And the seed does not, in any case, fall on totally barren soil. I will not refer back to the times of [King Boleslaw] the Wrymouth here, or to those of the Vasa dynasty -- it is enough to go back to the period between the two world wars. Just note what a short stretch of coastline we had then, and yet what enormous national response and understanding it evoked. The results include Gdynia, the Dar Pomorza sailing ship [Merchant Marine College training vessel], and the Polish Navy, which not only refused to be sunk by the formidable Navy of the Third Reich but which itself sank enemies and fought magnificently and heroically, proving to itself and to the world that Poles are splendid seamen as well as good cavalrymen.

And later, far away in the USSR, when the outcome of the war was still in the balance and was being determined on battlefields, our patriotic members of the Polish Workers Party were thinking out their long-term plans for returning to the Baltic coast, not only for the symbolic ceremony of betrothal to the sea, but also to make it our Polish sea and to take upon their shoulders all the ensuing consequences.

We are the heirs of all those Poles who fought to win the sea for Poland, who cultivated it for Poland's benefit. From that tradition and from the understanding of the needs of the present day there arose a profound need to work for the sake of creating a maritime Poland. You, the journalists, also help us in accomplishing this task. In this respect the role played by DZIENNIK BALTYCKI is indisputable. Let me thank you for it. It is, though, tangible facts and concrete examples that are the best teachers. This is why we want to make our coast a display window for our ideas. We want to demonstrate right here, in black on white, that the sea provides both food and wealth. Once we do that, even those who are the most reluctant will become persuaded.

But we also employ other methods to popularize the ideas which inspire our work. Take, for example, the Maritime League, whose activity is being extended to popularize the sea on the Mazovian plains, among the foothills of the Tatras, and in Silesia. And it brings good results. There is a school in Boleslawiec, a long distance from the sea shores, which is all redolent of salty sea water, where every last detail reminds you that Poland lies on the Baltic. And the widespread, nationwide action in which the population raised funds to give Poland the Dar Mlodziezy sailing ship, a worthy successor of the Dar Pomorza -- is that not a good example?

Pierscinski: The official Days of the Sea, which are just starting, will surely provide a good chance for yet another nationwide lesson in viewing our concerns from a sea-oriented angle.

Bejger: Events of this kind provide an excellent opportunity for popularizing the things we have been talking about. And it is not only the Days of the Sea that do this, although owing to its nature and rank, this particular event does indeed play the main role in reminding the nation that we have over 500 kilometers of coastline, a strong and vigorous shipbuilding industry, a large merchant marine and fishing fleet, seaports which transload the largest volume of cargo on the Baltic, a Navy which can boast instant readiness to defend us against an attack from the sea and, finally, the dynamically developing urban centers along the entire stretch of our coastline which play a not insignificant role in the country's economic, cultural, and political life.

In keeping with tradition, this year's program of maritime celebrations devotes each successive day of the week to a different area of "cultivating the sea," which enables enterprises, organizations, and institutions connected with the sea to present their scope and profile sufficiently clearly and comprehensively. The rich and varied program of this year's Days of the Sea, which are this time celebrated in the year of the 40th anniversary of the PPR and whose central events will -- not by accident -- take place in Gdansk and Gdynia, will enable us to demonstrate comprehensively our achievements, but also our problems, shortcomings, and needs.

Pierscinski: And these last three are still numerous, more numerous than ever.

Bejger: Of course, but let us not give way to excessive pessimism. As the saying goes, "Rome was not built in a day," and we could paraphrase this to refer to our maritime concerns. We have our problems and difficulties. These have, of course, been with us before. Today we can state clearly: Here are our indisputable successes, shown large and clear; here is the goal we are aiming at; but here also are the difficulties we are encountering, difficulties which we must overcome to attain that goal.

Pierscinski: And, of course, there are a few thorns in the flesh...

Bejger: ...such as, for instance, our liner fleet. It is old, largely obsolete, and it is causing shipowners and seamen more and more headaches. We must keep bringing it up to date. Or take the ports. At the latest session of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee Maritime Commission many bitter things were said by those responsible for the proper functioning of our ports. The latter are suffering from considerable depreciation. We have a lot to catch up with in the sphere of the infrastructure... everything is subject to ageing, and technology probably ages more speedily than other things. Today we cannot affort to carry out a rejuvenation course along with all the other current tasks. We must really put in a great deal of effort to check the process of depreciation, and even more effort to be able to consider any development. Take such a formidable problem, both in quality and quantity, as the question of the protection of natural environment. That is a subject of such vast proportions that I will do no more here than merely signal its existence. And here, too, things do not depend on ourselves alone.

The most essential thing is the correct utilization of the potential existing in the maritime economy, the proper utilization of the great resources available to us there. I think that the Central Committee Maritime Commission will be able to help point out the areas of investment answering our actual needs and designed to improve the results of our economic management, even though we are still short of sufficient means of investment and will have to think twice before we spend. Better results will be achieved if we relate the needs of the whole country to the needs of individual industries and enterprises.

Pierscinski: I feel that we have again given way to extremes while discussing Poland's maritime development. We have been talking of shipyards, ports, and ships, and forgetting the whole region adjacent to the sea.

Bejger: This is a typical imbalance appearing in every discussion of this kind. It is simply that ports, shipyards, and ships are more noticeable, a better subject for description, analysis, and even for forming conclusions. But this does not mean that we are concentrating exclusively on the easy issues. Quite the opposite.

We know that up to the present time our maritime economy was developing in fits and starts, which was the cause of a great many disproportions. We built the Polnocny port and the refinery, we extended the Paris Commune Shipyard and the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard, but no proper conditions were created for the population. Development of the social welfare and technical infrastructure was pushed further down the list. There was not enough caring and not enough funds to start investing in undertakings indispensable for the correct functioning of urban complexes. While the production potential was being increased and the operating conditions of enterprises involved in maritime economy continued to improve, the living conditions of many people continued to deteriorate. That, among other things, was one of the reasons for the August [1980] protests. The needs of our voivodship, and also those of the other coastal voivodships, in the sphere of eliminating these instances of imbalance are very extensive, and we will not be able to cope with them under our own steam. We must be helped centrally. We do not intend to repeat the mistake made by our predecessors, that of viewing our maritime concerns in a narrow perspective.

Pierscinski: Our existence on the Baltic is not based exclusively on our industrial potential, but also on our historic right to these territories, on our right and ability to defend them...

Bejger: This is becoming particularly topical nowadays. It had seemed already that all those who doubted that Poland would restore the coastal provinces to their standing and significance, those who questioned our right to this territory, were already no more than figures of the past, limited to haunting us from the pages of history books. Unfortunately it appears that the climate beyond the Elbe must be favorable for such individuals, for voices continue to be heard advocating the need to push Poland away from the Baltic.

To those gentlemen we always say the same thing: We have right to these territories, a moral right and a right justified by a thousand years of history; they belong to us. We have paid a great deal for the stretch of land extending from Braniewo to Szczecin. The labor of generations of Polish people will not be wasted and neither will be blood spilt by them. The land on the Baltic, returned to Poland in 1945 thanks to the help of the Red Army, was a place of smoldering ruins, burned-out towns, devastated industry, and decimated population. And yet we have restored Gdansk, Szczecin, Kolobrzeg, and many other towns to their former beauty, and we expanded the proletarian, red city of Gdynia. We have built new enterprises that put us among the maritime tycoons. Each new day brings a confirmation of the fact that the coastal community is worthy of its regained heritage, worthy of those Poles who had fought and built our power on the Baltic. Not even the difficult, post-August period has broken our certainty that we are in our own home and that we are not abandoning the respect for our own convictions and gains achieved under the leadership of the PZPR.

Thence stems my trust that Poland's power on the seas will grow and that our future looks bright.

Pierscinski: Thank you for the interview.

BRIEFS

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES UN OFFICIAL -- Warsaw, July 12 (PAP) -- Prime Minister, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski received U.N. Deputy Secretary General Ambassador Eugeniusz Wyzner today. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1433 GMT 12 Jul 84 LD]

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES CHARGE D'AFFAIRES -- Warsaw, July 12 (PAP) -- Prime Minister, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski received Polish charge d'affaires in the U.S. Zdzislaw Ludwiczak today. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1432 GMT 12 Jul 84 LD]

GUINEAN PREMIER ENDS TALKS, VISITS BANEASA

AU121543 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1522 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12/7/1984 -- The official talks between Romania's Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and the prime minister of the Republic of Guinea, Colonel Diarra Traore, concluded in Bucharest on July 12. The talks between the two prime ministers, which passed in a friendly atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding, highlighted the wish of Romania and Guinea to intensify and develop trade and cooperation on various planes. To this end, new modalities and actions were agreed upon to expand collaboration and cooperation in the economic field, as well as in other areas of mutual interests, thus providing for the further amplification of the Romanian-Guinean relations.

The resolve of the Governments of Romania and the Republic of Guinea was highlighted to provide every condition for the translation into fact of the actions covenanted in the interests of the two countries, of the development of the relations of friendship between the Romanian and Guinean peoples.

At the end of the talks a joint communique was adopted. The two prime ministers signed a memorandum on the promotion of economic and technical cooperation and the rise in the volume of commercial exchanges between the two countries. The same day in the morning, the Guinean prime minister and the officials accompanying him saw round the Institute of Research, Design and Technological Engineering for the mechanization of agricultural at Baneasa.

Seen Off by Dascalescu

AU121630 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1600 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12/7/1984 -- On Thursday afternoon Colonel Diarra Traore, prime minister of the Republic of Guinea, concluded the official visit he paid to Romania over July 10-12. Upon departure the Guinean prime minister and the other Guinean officials were seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Ion Lazarescu, minister of mines, Lucian Dragut, secretary of the Council of Ministers, and other officials.

FISCHER ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST, MET BY ANDREI

LD121329 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1226 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest 12 Jul (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrived in Romania this afternoon on an official friendship visit. He was warmly welcomed at Bucharest airport by Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei.

Talks Begin, Dinner Held

LD122118 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1920 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Jul (ADN) -- Official talks between the Foreign Ministers of the GDR and Romania, Oskar Fischer and Stefan Andrei, began in Bucharest on Thursday. The main focus is bilateral cooperation and current international problems. Fischer arrived on the same day for an official friendship visit to the Romanian capital.

In the evening, the Romanian foreign minister gave a dinner in honor of his guest. In his toast, Oskar Fischer stressed that the meetings between Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu had again and again given powerful impetus to the dynamic development of bilaterial relations. Economic cooperation was developing to the advantage of both sides.

The present international situation, as a result of the confrontation and arms build-up policy of the United States and NATO, was marked by extraordinary aggravation. The GDR foreign minister pointed to the deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons in some West European countries. Proposals on how this development could and had to be reversed were contained in the Prague declaration of January and in the Moscow statement of 28 June 1983.

The GDR was doing all it could to limit the damage caused by the deployment of the NATO missiles. The main aim was to prevent a war ever emanating from German soil again. If the new U.S. nuclear weapons were dismantled, then the countermeasures they had entailed would be reversed.

Stefan Andrei said that Romania hoped to shape cooperation with the GDR even more closely. The documents of the latest top-level economic consultation formed a broad framework for the deepening of cooperation, the expansion of trade and cooperation within the CEMA framework. Romania made the development of socialist relations the main goal of its foreign policy. At the same time, his country was active in contributing to moving away from the course towaid nuclear catastrophe.

The speaker reaffirmed the words of Nicolae Ceausescu, that now it was more important than ever to achieve an end to the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and to move toward disarmament and the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from Europe.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES BULGARIAN ENERGY MINISTER

AU121841 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12/7/1984 -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received on Thursday afternoon Todor Bozhinov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of energy sources and raw materials of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who paid a visit to Romania. The interview occasioned an exchange of warm messages of salute between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov.

During the interview, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending and productive course of the relations between the two parties, countries and peoples and the decisive role was highlighted of the Romanian-Bulgarian summit meetings and talks, of the understandings reached on those occasions in the expansion and diversification of the collaboration and cooperation between the two countries on most diverse planes.

It was pointed out that the development of the socialist economies of Romania and Bulgaria provided further possibilities of deepening bilaterial links, of expanding modern forms of economic cooperation and specialization of industrial production, technical-scientific cooperation and trade. It was shown that the sustained promotion of economic collaboration between Romania and Bulgaria was for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism, peace, security, cooperation and understanding in the Balkans, on the European Continent and the world over.

SDUF PLENUM SUPPORTS CEAUSESCU'S REELECTION

AU301344 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0637 GMT 30 Jun 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/6/1984 -- The plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], in an atmosphere of high patriotic vibration, expressed the feelings of national pride and deep satisfaction in which the working people throughout the country have learned of the resolution of the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee proposing Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection by the 13th Congress of the RCP to the supreme office of general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, reads the resolution endorsed on June 28 by the SDUF National Council, released today.

The document mentions that the participants in the debates have pointed out that this proposal meets to the greatest extent the will of all social layers and categories, their vivid wish to have further at the head of the party the most beloved son of the Romanian people, who through his entire life and activity has determined the progress to a superior qualitative stage of the entire process of revolutionary construction in the country, giving it the dimension of a work of national rebirth and the significance of a radical historical change that focuses on man, welfare and happiness of the nation.

Reelecting Nicolae Ceausescu at the head of the party, reads the resolution, is the guarantee for Romania's firm advancement along the path of progress and socialist civilization, and for an ever more active contribution to building a better and juster world on our planet. The plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front expressed adhesion to and full support of resident Nicolae Ceausescu's conception and views on the current international situation, the ways and means to promote and consolidate the climate of peace and collaboration in the world.

The National Council, the resolution reads, aware of the huge danger threatening the life of all peoples, declares that the time has come for all lessons to be learned from the situation developed and expresses the belief that the masses of people, the peoples and the political leaders will work to free mankind from the burden of arming and to ban the nuclear weapons.

We defend the most valuable asset -- peace, by supporting with all our might the foreign policy promoted by our party and state and the principles making its foundation: fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage, renunciation of force and the threat of force in interstate relations, the right of each people to choose self-dependently the path of development, accoridng to its own will and aspirations.

With this document the SDUF National Council calls on all the citizens to support the whole Romanian home and foreign policy, promoted by our party and state, by President Nicolae Ceausescu, and devoted to raising the standard of life, civilization and culture of our people, ensuring the quiet needed for the achievement of the great work of revolutionary transformation of the homeland. Through our work, through the achievements we score in all domains of material production and spiritual creation, let us prove the might of socialism, the capacity of the Romanian people, masters of their destiny, to freely make their own happy future they aspire for, to ensure the homeland's welfare, independence and sovereignty, the document concludes, also calling on all working people to meet the 40th anniversary of the anti-fascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation and the Thirteenth Congress of the RCP with further great successes in their work.

CEAUSESCU CONTINUES VISIT TO CONSTANTA COUNTY

AU121641 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1554 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12/7/1984 -- RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a working visit to state and cooperative farming units in Constanta County (south-east of the country), on Wednesday, July 12.

Taking place one week after the dialogue with working people in Sibiu and Alba Counties on highly topical questions of the Romanian economy, the interview with people working in the fields between the Danube and the Black Sea focused on main aspects of the new agrarian revolution in Romania: highly efficient utilization of land, fast application of the latest results of relevant scientific research to agriculture, highly efficient use, at capacity, of the technological base in state and cooperative farming units, exemplary organization of cereal harvesting and tending of hoed crops, integral implementation of special programmes for this key branch of the national economy. Participating in the visit were Gheorghe Stoica and Silviu Curtinceanu, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture and food industry, experts.

Visits were paid to lands and animal-breeding units of producer cooperative farms at Pecineaga, Ciocirlia de Jos and Cumpana, as well as of the state agricultural enterprises of Amzacea and Poarta Alba. The RCP and Romanian state leader's working visit to Dobrogean farming units took place in the conditions in which all Communists, the whole Romanian people support the resolution endorsed by the recent CC of the RCP plenum regarding Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection as general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party by the thirteenth party congress, as this is a full guarantee for the country's advance to new stages of progress.

During the dialogue the RCP and Romanian state leader conducted with people working in Dobrogea's fields, emphasis was placed on the fact that in that county in which cooperative and state units own almost 500,000 hectares of arable land, out of which 65 perent are irrigated, appropriate agro-technical and technical-organizational measures had been taken to provide proper yields both with cereals and with hoe cultures.

President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed the way in which work was done to obtain ever bigger plant and animal outputs as well as the working people's concerns in the zootechnical sector to raise high breeds by better selecting and adapting them to weather and geographic conditions. Nicolae Ceausescu also recommended the farmers in the units visited and throughout the county to work for harvesting crops in time, without losses, and for sowing the second culture, make still more sustained efforts to produce bigger crops with every passing year commensurate with the technical-material base available in the units of this important agricultural area in the country.

RIBICIC INTERVIEWED ON SAWP ROLE, DISSIDENTS

AU111405 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1749, 8 Jul 84 pp 8-12

[Jug Grizelj report]

[Excerpts] Mitja Ribicic, member of the LCY Presidium, is one of those revolutionaries who does not shrink from expressing in his public utterances some views that are not always "agreed on" and "checked."

In a 3-hour interview with NIN journalists -- from which we carry interesting excerpts -- which was conducted without an "agenda," on the current situation in Yugoslavia and the LC, Ribicic did not evade any reply, confirming the old, wise, political rule that in a democratic society there are no "suitable" and "unsuitable" questions.

NIN: There have been different interpretations and commentaries in the public of the reasons because of which the conclusions proposed by the Presidium have not been adopted at the latest, 13th session of the Central Committee. Were the conclusions not good, or was there some other reason?

Ribicic: The Presidium itself had different opinions on the way in which to propose the conclusions. We all agreed as regards the content of the conclusions, but it was a question whether they will follow that conventional repetition of the views we have taken several times in the past, especially in the field of the economic situation, or whether they will seek a different approach. We all comprehend that the LC members can no longer be moved to action through hierarchical letters or assessments which "others" should carry out. Of course, it has been clear to us for a long time that by the time they reach the basic organizations, many of our conclusions melt away like ice in the sun. The position matured at the 13th session that we no longer can follow the method whereby "we write letters to the members and they must listen to their leadership," but that we must see what the members think so that we may reach the proper assessments and conclusions.

NIN: What will the Central Committee do if it meets with sharp criticism by the party membership of some methods of work in the LC, and even in the Central Committee and the Presidium?

Ribicic: You have seen that the Central Committee meetings are public and that there is much criticism and self-criticism at them. Of course, if the party membership seriously criticizes both work in the LC and the work of the Central Committee and the Presidium, and I personally expect it, the Central Committee will have to take all the measures necessary to change things both in the LC as a whole and in the Central Committee and the Presidium, both in the cadres and the organizational field, and in the method of work.

NIN: There have been several proposals that an LCY Conference be convened before the 13th LCY Congress, or even an extraordinary congress, without waiting 2 more years and waiting for the discussions at a regular congress. Do you expect that this may happen?

Ribicic: It is interesting that both in the country and abroad, really much is being spoken about convening a conference and sometimes even about the need for an extraordinary congress because of the very aggravated internal and international situation. For the time being I see no need for convening an extraordinary congress or conference for this purpose. However, this will also depend on the attitude of the membership. The 13th session somehow coincides with the 2-year term of this central Committee and Presidium, for it was held precisely midway between the preceding and the next congresses.

The time of unreserved endorsement has passed, and I am sure that at the 13th congress there will also be open, critical polemics, demands that the necessary changes be hurried up, insistence on responsibility, and possibly split votes; and this is good. Therefore I think that we have many things to prepare and to improve up to the 13th congress, so that we may not break our heads there.

NIN: What do you think about the thesis "one should wait for the congress" and "nothing should be changed in the meanwhile" in the work of the organs and forums of the LC?

Ribicic: I think that many things should be changed before the congress, but if I now say everything that I have concretely in mind, I fear that I will again have to issue denials, and so it is better that I keep to general statements. What I want to say is that always in the past we completed the most significant matters before the congress, we solved at plenums many dilemmas that had occurred, we changed the relationship of forces, and we often adopted provisional statute decisions which the congress then confirmed.

As regards the thesis "let us wait for the 13th congress" with this present structure of ours, both the cadre and organizational one, and with the present results of work with which we are not satisfied, I think it is a bad thesis. It defends the existing state and the existing shortcomings. It is also a thesis that, in my opinion, also reflects disunity inside the LC, and even disunity inside the several republics and provinces. It also reflects the striving that the existing positions and relationships of forces be preserved.

NIN: Do you believe that the open and general party debate that is forthcoming will help to clear up some disunited positions both in the federation and in the republics?

Ribicic: Of course. If we were to send these proposals and conclusions of ours only to the republics and provinces, we would probably get the reply that everything is in order in their places, but not in the other communities. However, when we obtain the positions of the party members, who are guided not only by republic but also class, the situation will be much learer.

NIN: Do you expect any pressure or demands in the future for changing the statute of our federation in the direction of a confederation or separatism, or in the direction of greater centralism, as is sometimes believed, especially in the world?

Ribicic: I think that the foundations of our federation are clear and stable and there is no danger of such changes.

Our future road, therefore, does not lead either to the liquidation of the existing republics and provinces (although serious problems sometimes exist because of the statist behavior of both republics and provinces) or to a confederation, but to Yugoslavia as a free association of labor, and this is where we are rather weak.

I also believe that there is no danger of secession, for the modern world in which we live, the world of scientific and technological revolution which is underway just now, necessarily demands not only a permeation of our Yugoslav cultures and economies, but also an integration and opening toward the world. To continue with the closing of the republics and provinces as states would be unnatural, above all for the positions of interests of these republics and provinces, for we would go back in the direction of an obsolete, not to say a medieval or feudal, system.

NIN: Have we really ordered everything in the best possible way, and should we really set everything in concrete?

Ribicic: On the contrary. We must really be more critical toward ourselves, we must cease to believe that we are the wisest in the whole world, that all our solutions are the best possible for all the times, and that the entire workers movement of the world should look at us and copy us. We must defend our basic concepts, but we must bravely throw out everything that has not taken root, without having any complexes about it.

NIN: While you were president of the SAWP of Slovenia, you were called "the apostle of the SAWP." Many people, when they saw you striding toward the rostrum, used to say: "There he goes, Ribicic, to talk about the SAWP again." Where does this preoccupation come from:

Ribicic: It is true that I am obsessed with an improvement of SAWP work even now. It is a fact that the SAWP is more a branch of the party than a national, popular, political front of all pluralist forces in the country. I think that during the war we had a healthier people's front than the SAWP is now. I think that AVNOJ [Anti-Facist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] was more representative in the sense of a pluralist political representation than the SAWPY Presidium is now.

Kardelj said a long time ago that unless the SAWP becomes the rallying point for all pluralist interests, we may get a multiparty system.

NIN: Could you analyze the reasons because of which the SAWP is now -- in the forums, of course -- a copy to the LC forums.

Ribicic: Any analysis should take several elements into account. First, I think that we behave like a party in power, big and mighty [kojoj je voda do kolena], and we have no need to struggle and to persuade because everything is in our hands.

There is also the heritage, the heritage of the October Revolution, which as the first state of socialism in the first stage really was surrounded by the whole world. But why do we even now often see enemies on all sides, why are we intolerant of every opinion, why does all Yugoslavia tremble because of a little poem, why is every trifle discussed at the state top, why does every peripheral occurrence and excess reach our bulletins, why is all this collected in one place and when it is regarded from an office, it really begins to look as if we are surrounded by enemies?

We even now sometimes think that we must and we can solve everything either through administrative or court channels. It is not a prevailing tendency, but if we drag a poet or a sociologist or a philosopher to court, instead of "fighting book with book," instead of replying with expert and ideological criticism to unacceptable positions, then we do precisely what the opposition forces want us to do.

I would say that there is at least another reason because of which it often appears that the League of Communists is in conflict with the intellectuals. I think that it is a consequence of a complex which many of us Communists have toward the intellectuals, because of which one does not like to enter into discussions but more frequently bangs one's fist on the table, thus leaving the impression in the public that our ideas and their protagonists are weaker and that we must therefore struggle for our positions with the help of repression and the state.

NIN: In the recent years one talks more and more about Yugoslav dissidents. Is it not paradoxical that a socialist nonaligned democratic state, in which every citizen has a passport, can live wherever he wants, and can travel whenever he wants, has dissidents?

Ribicic: I think that this is really absurd. You see, this is a consequence of the phenomenon of a party in power, as well as of ideological laziness and confusion of some of our Communist cadres. It is indeed easier to proclaim a work hostile, to impose court bans, to talk about the work using all sorts of labels, especially if the work has not been published in our country, which often happens, than to mount a public tribune in the SAWP and oppose the book with Marxist and communist arguments.

I would add something about dissidents. One should say that, apart from these domestic weaknesses of ours that intensify that, the phenomenon of dissidents in general, and especially in Yugoslavia, is connected with the policy of the superpowers and the policy of hegemonism. One could say that the creation of the phenomenon of dissidents in our country is a bloc invention, and of both blocs at that. The best medicine for this ideological and political poisoning of our society should be our openness and the method of public political settling of accounts with all reactionary attitudes, wherever they come from.

NIN: Does that mean that you would not imprison poets?

Ribicic: If you ask me, I would not have trials because someone's opinions differ from mine. I am opposed to any trial at which one cannot prove the existence of organized hostile or propaganda activity, but the kind that is really dangerous and grave, and organized, and especially connected with known centers or intelligence services in the world. I think that political damage to the political reputation of the country is huge when we deal with differences of opinions in court. It sometimes seems to me that some real external enemy of ours has pushed us into acceding to its provocation.

At this I always bear in mind that the international situation we are living in is really serious. Great powers try to grasp new positions in the world, the process of strengthening of blocs is underway, as well as the struggle of dogmatic forces within both blocs. And Yugoslavia is really being exposed to hits here.

NIN: At a recent plenum in Vojvodina, Bosko Krunic expressed the opinion that the oppositional forces in our country are in a phase at which it should not surprise us if they soon meet at a founding congress. How do you estimate the strength of the so-called opposition in our country?

Ribicic: I do not have sufficient facts on the strength and intentions of oppositional forces in our country. I know that they have been traditionally living on our land and building positions on being persecuted by someone, on advocating creativeness, human rights, and democracy, and Communists allegedly are against that. I would not exclude the possibility that the oppositional forces, which in Yugoslavia at the moment have the tendency of mutual linking and joint activity, seeking support in our difficult economic situation, may try at one moment to take advantage of some critical point and make some demonstration. I would not exclude that.

NIN: Both in our country and in the world there are many estimates on the direction we will move along in the future, especially in the sphere of human freedom [judske slobode], democracy, protection of legality, and so on. Considering the economic difficulties we are facing and the syndrome of the party in power you spoke about, do you expect any "tightening," or a tendency towards "a firm hand?"

Ribicic: I do not expect a firm hand. I am certain that the problem with human freedoms in our country does not lie in laws that would suppress human freedoms and democracy. I belong to these people who believe that we have a very progressive and democratic legislature, but that the frequent failure to implement laws is a basis for breaching both human freedoms and democracy.

The moment the legislature weakens, one gets arbitrariness. The moment people see that laws can be violated without retribution and that we failed to ensure the same political and criminal responsibility for all people in the country, including leaders, lawfulness in general weakens. When there is no law for the "people at top positions," than there is none for small things.

NIN: Following reports on some trials and party debates in the country, one gets the impression that it is there that we lost many points. Can an official, whatever his position, protect his ideas when he has received land for building a weekend house, or a house at a place where another citizen cannot get it, and under conditions of credit that apply only to him? How serious do you assess the problem of corruption in our country?

Ribicic: I would not call that corruption, this specific case you were talking about. That is something much more serious even than corruption itself. That practice is in our country connected with the very phenomenon of power. There is a frequent opinion in our country that there are acquired rights and political criteria upon which it is the "right" of meritorious people to receive something that "ordinary citizens" cannot get, because they "work more, harder, and more responsibly." I have said many times that a privilege stops being a privilege if a right is incorporated into law.

For instance, there is a rumor in Belgrade, and not only there, about Jovanka Broz's pension and about a house that is being built for her. I would favor that the SFRY Assembly publicly established a pension for the widow of the president of the Republic and that the SFRY Assembly adopted a law on the kind of apartment or house she has the right to and the funds she will get them from. In this way, any possibility for creating a myth, rumors, and half-truths is nipped in the bud.

NIN: Has the Presidium discussed the recently held Zagreb meeting and the so-called "White Book" in which many names have been mentioned?

Ribicic: Let me say first that this is being much talked about in Slovenia; many people call that book "herbarium" and "Flowers of Evil." I have tried to find that book and could not get it and I think that it does not exist in that form. There is only a selection of citations and names from the entire country. I have seen the names from Slovenia and I think that was not a very good choice. I do not know whether any stand has been adopted on the basis of that book, that some authors should be proscribed in an index, which I consider unacceptable. We in the LCY Presidium have by no means been in favor of making such a book, some index of people the public activity of whom should be banned and who would be anathematized because of their literary and other works. True, regarding the criteria on what is allowed and what is not -- despite the same laws in the entire country -- there are great differences in practice in Yugoslavia, differences in attitudes towards what is "acceptable" and what is not, and these differences are often based on different cultural levels, emotions, relations of forces, and the like.

NIN: Has Slovenia "overcome the remarks" on the election of the president of the Federal Executive Council that existed for some time?

Ribicic: You are probably thinking of Matej Bor's epigram in DELO as well. I think that the epigram is witty and I do not think Matej Bor needs cheap popularity, and that he did this for that reason. On the whole, I suggest that we relax a bit. This is what I would answer to this epigram, for instance:

"For all the troubles, Bor has a name:
Small Montenegro is to blame.
We Slovenes had our Popit:
Our development needed no credit."

NIN: Is it true that Slovenia has developed without credits?

Ribicic: This is also a joke, of course -- Slovenia is also too much in debt, Slovenia also had poor and politically-motivated investments, this is known and cannot be concealed. But all this is a joke and I want to say this as well: The thesis on seeking the mandatory individual culprit for economic errors in the past has been completely overcome. It is clear to every Slovene that no man in Yugoslavia can be alone responsible for the overall policy and the errors that have been accumulating for a decade. The fact that "the Djuranovic case" has been overcome is demonstrated also by the fact that the SR of Slovenia has delegated to the very prominent functions in the federation precisely those cadres who had borne the greatest burden of work in the republic.

DRAFT CONCLUSIONS OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG) -- At its 13th session, held on 12 and 13 June this year, the LCY Central Committee discussed topical questions of the realization of the LCY's leading role and the consolidation of its ideological unity and unity of action. It critically analyzed its own practice and the situation in society, as well as shortcomings in ideopolitical, organizational and cadre preparedness of the League of Communists and especially its leaderships.

During the revolution the LCY has successfully realized its vanguard role in the struggle waged by the working class and all working people for socialist self-managing development, independent [words indistinct] policy of the SFRY. Now, with serious difficulties in our social and economic development and in the present-day world in general, the LCY should again, by consistently acting in keeping with Tito's path, correspond to its historical role and dedicate itself to efforts which aim, proceeding from achieved results, to ensure our further socialist self-managing development and strengthen the influence and active role of our country in the struggle for socialism, peace, progress and for international relations based on equality.

In keeping with the obligations accepted at the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium puts forward the following draft conclusions of the LCY Central Committee as the basis for discussion in the organizations and organs of the League of Communists and for launching a broad sociopolitical action. The discussion on the draft of this document, organized in this way for the first time in the history of the LCY, will last several months and then the LCY Central Committee will adopt the final text of the conclusions by the end of the year on the basis of the proposals and suggestions made.

1. The basic characteristic of the present stage of our social development is the struggle for the realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization aimed at the further development of socialist self-management. The attitudes of the 12th LCY Congress, and the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization are being realized slowly because of the very powerful resistance offered by the technocratic, etatist, group-property and other monopolistic forces to the agreed policy of living on the results of one's own labor and because of the resistance to indispensable changes in socioeconomic relations. Lasting and deep changes are only starting to take place in this direction.

In the development of socialist self-management we have come to a crossroads at which the further destiny, contents and possibilities of socialist self-management are decided. It is necessary to make fresh qualitative breakthroughs to enable working people to acquire direct control over the surplus of their work and over the means of social reproduction, and to prevent the further alienation of these means from them.

Our time and the political situation in our society demand that the LC launch a powerful, broad and effective action in which it will mobilize the working class and all working peoples to make a resolute approach to the carrying out of the key changes in production relations, to prepare their own programs of action on the basis of the stabilization program and resolutely demand the preparation and timely adoption in the appropriate organs of the federation, republics and provinces of changes in the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

Without deeper changes in the economic system and their synchronized application, as envisaged in the long-term program, the intervention of the state in economic life will keep growing stronger, a development which cannot be accepted as a substitute for the role played by self-managing associated labor in carrying out the long-term program. This in no way lessens the role of the organs of state and their responsibility for developing activity and adopting decisions aimed at realizing the stabilization program within the framework of their constitutional powers.

2. Apart from objective contradictions in the development of our society and the different positions of individual sections of associated labor due to unequal conditions of economic activity, the action of the LC is also hindered by differences in the interpretation and implementation of individual attitudes and orientations in the program of stabilization. Many of these differences are a reflection of the interests which originate in etatist socioeconomic relations which are not in keeping with the nature of social property and production relations in self-managing associated labor.

There are also differences and disagreements in interpreting certain fundamental questions, foundations and presuppositions of the socioeconomic relations on which socialist self-management is based. They stem from differences of view concerning the manner in which de-etatization can be brought about and the elimination of economic voluntarism, appreciation of economic laws, realization of the role of the workers in the basic organization of associated labor in decisionmaking on income and surplus value, realization of relations based on the free exchange of labor and elimination of the causes of unjustified social differences. The differences, along with those which stem from specific urban, local, regional, provincial and republican interests, and which are to a sufficient extent a subject of a democratic and fully-argumented search for common interests in practice, hinder the carrying out the long-term program of economic stabilization.

The present difficulties encountered in the course of formulating attitudes and overcoming differences are also due to a great extent to the insufficient involvement of science and lack of scientific-research and specialized work and demoractic discussion. This orientation demonstrated its value during the preparation of the Constitution and the long-term program and should become a lasting and essential characteristic of our system of social decisionmaking.

The LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in keeping with their responsibilities, should in conjunction with other social factors build uniform ideologi cal attitudes and orientations and organize, on a broader social base, the work done in search for solutions along the line of the strengthening of self-management and raising labor productivity. An end must be put to wavering, inconsistencies and to resistance offered to the carrying out of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

Those Communists, especially in prominent social offices, who do not implement the attitudes of the LCY, are reopening discussions on attitudes already endorsed in connection with this program and have an irresponsible attitude to the obligation in connection with its realization must bear the consequences ranging from dismissal from office to expulsion from the LC.

3. The program of economic stabilization opens up the prospect for the further successful development of Yugoslav society. The program is not merely an economic transformation project, but also a program of deep changes in production relations and in the position of economic and social subjects, in the behavior and awareness of people and the style of living. It is a radical break with all the weaknesses and shortcomings so far encountered in development policy and economic activity.

Past solutions did not ensure the accumulative and reproductive capability of the economy on the basis of economic laws, which is why they did not lead to self-managing integration and pooling of organizations of associated labor throughout the Yugoslav economic area and this is the basic cause for all of our present economic troubles and their social and political consequences.

The strategy of economic development, defined in the Long-Term Program of Economic Etabilization, paves the way to modern economy, based on the production of goods in conditions of social property and socialist self-management, on a unified Yugoslav market. The basic motive of production is income as the basis for the development of society's material production forces and for meeting other human needs in proportion with the growth of work productivity and economic efficiency.

The successful inclusion in the international division of labor through a constant increase in competitiveness and exports becomes the criterion of total social productivity. The pooling of labor and resources on the principle of joint income is the prerequisite for the progress of every organization of associated labor individually and all of them together. Everybody must, on the basis of their work, ensure for themselves not only existence [words indistinct] but also prospects and successful development, instead of presenting society with unpaid accounts.

We must establish the reasons why, even given equal considerations of economic operation, certain organizations of associated labor have a level of income and productivity of labor several times lower than others in comparison with allocated social means and gross income and accumulation per worker. Communists must ensure that self-management workers, their workers' councils and the management organs establish and eliminate their own weaknesses which are leading to such phenomena, that they re-examine the programs of production and development and that they adopt programs for the better exploitation of capacities and increasing exports. At the same time, the causes of those phenomena which lie in shortcomings and weaknesses in the economic system and economic policy must be removed.

At all levels, from the federation to the municipality, integral programs must be drawn up to remove burdens from the economy and transform the banks and trading organizations on the bases of self-management.

4. The realization of the tasks in the stabilization program must be an opportunity for affirming and checking the ability and ideopolitical orientation of every individual and the basis for the necessary differentation. The conditions must be created for the development and affirmation of cadres who will gain the opportunity in this battle to show their mettle in practice, express their socialist self-management orientation and confirm their capacities and abilities. The battle for stabilization demands different criteria.

Work, a consistent orientation toward the Constitution, the law on associated labor, and the stabilization program must be the decisive criteria in a democratically conducte cadre policy, the agents of which must be the working people organized in the Socialist Alliance and trade unions at all levels of associated labor and society in general. This goes for all positions in commercial, self-management and political organs. Wherever there is uneconomic operation and inefficient management of social property we must elect to positions of leadership those cadres who will be capable of organizing successful operation and contributing to the faster development of society, and have nothing to do with those who are not capable of this.

5. It is necessary to achieve accord as soon as possible on the unresolved issues concerning an agreement on the bases and criteria for distributing income and net income and personal incomes so that these criteria should be linked to the size of the income realized -- having taken into account the allocated social means, gross income and accumulation per worker -- the productivity of labor, and the efficient use of social means.

The establishment of such a system of distribution, in which the workers in associated labor will become materially interested in making as large as possible a contribution to the output of the enterprise and in using social means efficiently to increase their value constantly and as successfully as possible, will mean that they really do become in charge of social property and responsible for it and the general state and development of the social community.

The situation can no longer be tolerated whereby collectives which make losses due to poor performance continue to impoverish society in the name of socialist solidarity. Solidarity must have an economic justification and each collective must be responsible for the consequences of its economic performance, while enjoying the right to mutual support and solidarity based on programs allowing the individual collective to safeguard its existence and development. Energetic efforts must be made to prevent income from being earned through the unjustified increase of prices and the leaderships and organizations of associated labor concealing in this way their weaknesses in production and economic performance. Communists in the administration organs are duty-bound to prevent such conduct and ensure that workers discuss and decide such issues.

6. The LC organizations must lead the way with the initiative whereby the competent organs in the organizations of associated labor, the town and workers' centers and the republics and provinces adopt programs of measures to help those most threatened materially to withstand the pressure on their personal and social standard of living more easily with the solidarity and support of society. Neglecting social problems could threaten the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program and cause social and political instability in society.

Activity to apply consistently the principle of the distribution of income according to the results of labor must be an integral part of the measures for implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. The social policy measures which take this principle as their starting point must make it possible for the burden of stabilization to be shared more evenly and sustained more easily.

Organizations of associated labor, municipalities and all employed people are duty-bound to create the conditions for a faster increase in employment through the more effective use of economic capacities and the introduction of more shifts, the development of new economic activities -- and in particular the small-scale economy and agriculture -- and an increase in and best possible use of the means of accumulation.

7. Communists are obliged to make efforts and involve themselves directly where they live and work with a view to ensuring that all organizations of associated labor, self-management interest communities and sociopolitical communities -- municipalities, republics and provinces -- examine their material and financial situation. They are duty-bound to assess the efficiency of their work in terms of social needs, assess to what extent they are serving the development of production forces in society as a whole, in view of the importance of their contribution to this development, and to bring down their expenditure to the level of their real capacity. The LC will insist through organized social action that concrete measures are taken to reduce social overheads, the large number of unproductive workers in the work communities of organizations of associated labor, commercial associations, self-management interest communities and sociopolitical organizations and communities.

With due regard for their contribution to the development of material production forces and society as a whole, relations must be clearly established between the economy and social activities on an economic basis and with the critical assessment of the activity of self-management interest communities, their organization and their contribution to the realization of the socioeconomic relations of the free exchange of labor. This sector of associated labor must completely share the fate of the direct producers.

8. All members and all leaderships of the LCY, and in particular the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, are duty-bound to ensure that in institutions defined by the Constitution the goals of joint material and social development should be established as quickly as possible, that a strategy of economic, scientific-technical and technological development should be agreed, that the immediate tasks in the development of industry, energy production, transportation, agriculture, the small-scale economy and employment should be determined, and that the common strategy and programs for exports and activities in foreign markets should be drawn up, thus ensuring the effective and rational inclusion of the country in the international division of labor and preventing the extremely harmful competition between our organizations of associated labor. We must adopt a policy, criteria and stimuli for the faster development of the insufficiently developed socialist republics and Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

This is a precondition for the timely adoption of a medium- and long-term plan of development for the country, current policy measures and resolutions of economic policy for the years ahead, the starting point of which will be reliance on our own resources.

9. The LC in delegate assemblies and other organs of the political system of socialist self-management should encourage democratic processes and relations. This creates the possibility for resolving and coordinating diverse interests and for adopting decisions in good time on the basis of the interests of associated labor, which is a guarantee of the unity of class and national interests. The leadership of the LC must not entrench to defend the pragmatic and one-sidely understood and interpreted interests of their environments, because this prevents reaching accord on common interests and solutions, and fuels national-separatist and bureaucratic-centralists tendencies and practices.

It runs counter to the place and role of the LC and the development of socialist self-management when individual organizations and organs of the LC take over the affairs and responsibilities of the self-managing, social and state organs and institutions, but the LC cannot likewise allow itself to be pushed out of those areas in society in which the fundamental questions of our further development and our working people's life are resolved and to have its constitutional role denied in this way.

The LC demands the immediate tightening of political responsibility toward those responsible for the process of coordinating interests, if they are not ready to look for the appropriate solutions on the basis of the common historical interests of the working class of all of our nations and nationalities.

The further building and development of the political system and in particular the delegate system as the focus of decisionmaking will ensure the development of that system as an expression of the interests of associated workers and the working class as a whole. The authentic workers' self-managing interests and stimuli should be carried from this basis of society by delegations and delegates to delegate assemblies to exert a specific pressure and be a reliable factor in the consistent implementation of the Constitution and the stabilization program, as well as a means of testing the responsibility of the executive and administrative organs and all those with public powers with regard to the way they carry out their own obligations and tasks. This should also represent the basic meaning of the work of the LCY Central Committee, the Federal Social Councils, the Socialist Alliance, and other creative forces of society in perfecting and developing the political system.

Decisionmaking on investing and other economic and social questions continues to be made in a narrow circle of people despite all the social criticism. Such a voluntarist policy is an expression of resistance to economic stabilization and to the democratization of society, especially in the system of delegate decisionmaking. Political voluntarism and the hierarchy of power, which is unacceptable to a self-managing society, have their mainstay in the reduction of social life and decisionmaking to relatively small circles of people and to individuals. This stifles the initiative of the working people and suppresses the responsibility of their legitimate organs.

We shall welcome resistance and all other obstacles on our way successfully only by means of the democratic instruments of our political system, by means of the direct involvement of the working class and all other working people and by full mobilization of all the subjective forces of socialist self-management in the struggle for their constitutional rights and responsibilities. This is why working people have to be kept fully informed about all the facts of importance for decisionmaking and about the means, methods, and aims of the action, as well as be well-organized and ready for the democratic struggle of views and for the successful performance of their individual and social tasks alike.

The basic responsibility of the LC lies precisely in the need to spread the kind of democratic relations in society in which social institutions and individuals perform their duties within the framework of their powers and regularly report on their work to the working people and the socialist public.

11. [As received] For the consolidation of the stability of society and for carrying out the stabilization program it is necessary to have the unity of the broadest socialist democratic and patriotic forces organized in the SAWPY. The attitude of Communists toward the work in all the spheres of SAWPY's activity should be based on the realization of this. This battle cannot be fought by the LC on its own, all the socialist social forces must take part in it because it is in the deepest interests of the entire working class.

Only such close ties between the LC and all the socialist self-managing and democratic forces can eliminate the pressure of the reactionary forces. At the same time this will make possible and give an impetus to the joint struggle of Communists, the working people and citizens even when certain ideological differences exist between them, but not differences with regard to their readiness and determination to work together in the defense and building of socialism and self-managing democracy. It is a task of the LC to gather together all the working people and all the progressive creative forces of our society.

Every Communist must be an activist of the SAWP. The LC cannot realize the role of the vanguard of the working class outside the Socialist Alliance. The Socialist Alliance is the front of the sociopolitical organizations and the broadest framework for gathering together all the working people and citizens regardless of national, social, religious, and other differences. Secretarianism against the Socialist Alliance leads to the alienation of the LC from the people. If the Socialist Alliance and its activity do not develop in this way demands and pressures will grow in favor of a one-party or a multi-party system. The public and responsible work of Communists in the front is an important means of strengthening the influence of the working class and working people on the LC.

In the interest of the realization of this program, Communists in the front struggle for the unity of class and national interests, for overcoming ideological and other differences, for creative criticism and alternative solutions, for the pluralism of self-managing interests and for a democratic cadre policy. Communists have no interests other than the interests of the working class. Their leading role is realized among the working people and citizens, in the common struggle for the further development of our society on the basis of socialist self-management. They must act by the force of arguments and personal example and must find themselves in the first line of battle for the development of our society.

This demands from Communists and especially from the leaderships of the LC to involve themselves actively and in a responsible manner, through initiative and work and not only by declaring attitudes, in the broadest activities of the Socialist Alliance, in its sections, on speaking platforms and in public discussions, because the struggle for the constitutional concept of the Socialist Alliance is at the same time also a struggle against putting the LC in the position of a classical party and returning society to etatist relations.

Only the successful realization of the role of the Socialist Alliance and the activity of Communists in it can ensure the links between the working class and especially Communists with all the other sections of the working people.

The more active involvement of the members and organizations of the LC in the work of the Federation of Trade Unions should contribute to the realization of the authentic interests of the working class as the basic element of our social development. In this manner the Federation of Trade Unions, as a collective member of the Socialist Alliance, would make a powerful contribution to the general mobilization of the working class and working people and citizens in the realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

It is of exceptional importance that the LC when opening up our society's prospects, should also open up the younger generation's prospects, in which it will find a mainstay for the enrichment of its work with fresh initiatives and understanding. Through the inclusion of the young into all the processes of society's life and work, the younger generation will take over responsibility and make its contribution in the struggle for the development of our socialist self-management society.

12. In the realization of the major tasks in the current development phase of our revolution, the ideological and action unity of the LCY is an important precondition for advancing its creative leading ideopolitical role.

The unity of the LCY is a condition and important guarantee of the unity and stability of our society as a whole. This is not achieved simply and once and for all, nor does it depend solely on the leadership, though there is no doubt that the clarification and harmonization of views and standpoints precisely in the LC organs is of great importance to the realization and strengthening of the LC's ideopolitical unity and that of society in general. This unity depends primarily on the level of overall awareness, efforts and contributions of all the members, organizations and organs of the LC.

In this respect the LC receives much justified criticism concerning manifestations of non-unity, action inconsistency, forum work, excessive reliance on state organs, links with the techno-bureaucratic structures, practicism, and so on. Obstinate insistence by individual leaderships or organizations on their own standpoints to the exclusion of all others and exclusive regard for one's own position and interests inevitably leads to disunity and confrontation, and even fractionalism within the LC. For this reason the LC must vigorously render such phenomena and conduct impossible. This state of affairs and these relations within the LC must be altered through revolutionary action, the democratic construction of ideopolitical standpoints and decisions and their consistent implementation. The members, organizations and organs of the LC can operate successfully in the same direction if the program orientations and their activity are founded on the historical interest of the working class.

13. The central committees of the republic LCs, the provincial committees of the LC and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and their political executive organs bear direct and full responsibility for the implementation of the agreed LCY policy, both before the members of the LC of their republic and province and before the LCY, its congress and the LCY Central Committee. The LCY Central Committee, the central committees of the republican LCs and the provincial committees of the LC are duty-bound to ensure unity of actionthroughout the entire LCY. They are also duty-bound to develop their organizational structure and work content and method in such a way so that the LCY Central Committee can successfully realize its roles as the highest organ of the LCY between congresses. The LCY Central Committee obligates the Presidium to monitor directly and constantly the state of affairs in individual environments and the execution of the conclusions adopted by the LCY Central Committee in the LCs of the republics and provinces.

The Leagues of Communists of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and the organization of the LCY in the YPA, and their leaderships, are duty-bound to strengthen and affirm the role of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium through their own work and attitude so that the LCY Central Committee develops and operates as an agent of ideological and political synthesis and as a factor of unification in the important directions along which the struggle for socialist self-management is proceeding. Precisely in this way the LCs of the republics and provinces can take a responsible part in creating a unified policy for Yugoslav Communists. An active contribution to the strengthening of its own role and responsibility should also come from the LCY Central Committee itself and its Presidium through its unity, activity, work and involvement in establishing and implementing a unified policy. Both the organs and all the cadres of the republican and provincial LCs and the LCY organization in the YPA bear the responsibility for the building of unity among the LCY leadership.

14. A special task of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium in the coming period is to:

Systematically and comprehensively monitor and analyze the conditions and problems of the further development of socialist self-management and the activity of the LC and other subjective forces in this direction, and in particular the ideological, organizational and action capability of the members, organizations and organs of the LC;

Involve the members of the LCY Central Committee as directly as possible in activity to establish and implement the LCY policy and in preparations for sessions. With issues of importance to the formation and implementation of the LCY policy the central and provincial committees, the committee of the LCY organization in the YPA, the municipal committees of the LC and the basic organizations must be involved, thus ensuring the adoption of clear conclusions and the effective solution of current ideopolitical and socioeconomic issues;

Ensure the conditions for executing, regularly monitoring, analyzing, assessing, and checking the implementation of the adopted policy, standpoints, and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee throughout the whole of the League of Communists;

Organize according to need meetings with the organs of the LC of the republics and provinces and LCY organization in the YPA with a view to briefing each other comprehensively and ensuring unified ideopolitical action.

15. The principles of democratic centralism, which are also the foundation for strengthening the ideopolitical and action unity of the LCY, are the backbone of the internal life, organization and functioning of the LCY. In practice, however, vacillations and departures from these norms have come about, which is leading to a weakening of unity and at the same time allowing federalization to appear in the LCY. These tendencies and this conduct are particularly apparent in the inconsistent application of the principles as a democratic centralism in the LCY as a whole, in the unsuitable and biased, and even arbitrary conception and interpretation of the independence of the republican and provincial LCs, in disregard for their responsibility and obligations in building and implementing the LCY policy as a whole, in the varying practice and diverse interpretations and pursuance of the essential goals of the LCY policy and a voluntaristic and subjectivistic attitude towards the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, including cases of their being circumvented, negated or ignored. Tolerating such conceptions and actions objectively opens up the way to fractionalist conduct and activity, which can jeopardize the LCY's unity, its class, revolutionary role and its responsibility for the unity of the country and its socialist self-management development. For this reason the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and all the other organs and organizations of the LC are duty-bound to wage a resolute action against these tendencies and their perpetrators in the LCY.

All the leaderships and organizations of the LC must at the same time wage a constant and resolute struggle against conceptions and tendencies of unitarism dogmatism and bureaucratism, which bring into question not only the independence and responsibility of the republican and provincial LCs in the unified LCY but also all the important gains of the socialist revolution. These tendencies are also appearing at the level of the republican, provincial and municipal LCs. thus the unity of the LCY is also jeopardized, something which must be vigorously opposed.

16. In order to function more successfully as the inner force of the self-management and delegate system and the sociopolitical and social organizations and associaitons of citizens, the LC must continue to develop and strengthen democratic relations in its own ranks and make Communists capable of fighting for the ideas, policy and standpoints of the LC by the force of conviction and argument, their devotion, consistency and personal example. It is necessary to develop such relations, methods and forms of operation as well as allow every member, organization and organ of the LC consciously, creatively, critically and responsibily to form policy and at the same time take over the responsibility for its consistent realization. The discussions and clashes of opinions on the most diverse issues must be concluded with unified conclusions based on

the arguments and orientations of the majority which become the commitment and platform of activity for everyone.

In practice the LC must consistently make its work more public and achieve constant direct communication between the organs and members and the members and organs, something which is an important defense against its own bureaucratization. For this reason it must develop the practice whereby before the adoption of important standpoints and decisions of the municipal, provincial and central committees and the LCY Central Committee and membership and the LC organizations are consulted. The LC leaderships must strengthen at all organizational levels the responsibility of the political and executive organs towards the organs which have elected them, eliminate formalism and pointless routine and strictly implement the statutory obligation of regularly, critically and self-critically accounting for one's own work before the organizations and members of the LC.

In the consistent and effective realization of personal and collective responsibility, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, from the LCY Central Committee to the basic organizations and every individual member of the LC, must wage a decisive and uncompromising struggle against opportunism and its causes and agents. The LC must settle accounts resolutely with manifestations of undemocratic and nonself-management conduct, petit bourgeois laxity and careerism, acquiring wealth without working or by various forms or the appropriation of social means, bureaucratic alienation and the lack of sensitivity to deformations in our society. This is all irreconcilable with membership of the LC. The Communists of Yugoslavia -- true to their struggle, revolutionary traditions, high moral values, humanism, and ethics -- must in the future struggle even more resolutely and persistently against these and similar negative phenomena and deformations in their ranks and society and urge the consistent application of legal norms against such conduct.

17. The complex and difficult immediate and long-term tasks facing the LC and society demand ideopolitically capable members, profound theoretical work and an intensive ideological struggle in the light of the cognitions which the [words indistinct] of the workers' movement and especially Tito and Kardelj arrived at. It is the duty of the LC to involve and activate in this all the socialist creative forces, the broadest circle of scientific, cultural and expert workers and all other creative people, since supplying an answer to the concrete questions of the present day and opening up new prospects is impossible without the all-round development of Marxist thought and respect for the achievements of modern science.

No safe way can be paved to further social development without organized work aimed at encouraging creativity and the freedom of social criticism from positions of socialist self-management, which in practice consolidates the constitutional and programmatic role of the working class, nations, and nationalities. Criticism must be backed by arguments and must give an impetus to further socialist self-managing development and be an instrument of progress. This is why the LC has the duty to cultivate both in its own ranks and in society the ability to distinguish on a class and ideological basis between criticism and petty criticizing and anti-Communist destructiveness.

Social reality is often analysed in the LCY without a fuller and deeper insight into the existing social contradictions and the distribution of social forces. This is one of the reasons why one cannot draw real conclusions from such analyses and why there is no effort to go into ideopolitical action and struggle for a broader affirmation of our attitudes. This also then gives rise to the forum type of work, opportunism and the revival of dogmatic and sectarian types of awareness, retreat under pressure from political pragmatism, loss of the criteria of the class struggle, and manifestations of playing with pressures and provocations of anti-socialist orientation.

This is why the struggle of the LC must be waged in a synchronized manner and must be far more offensive-minded and dedicated, based on the original orientations of the LCY program, the Constitution, and the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, and aimed at clearing more space for fresh progress in the development of socialist and self-management and socialist self-managing democracy and at preventing activities from positions opposed to the values of our revolution. The LCY press and publishing and all other public information media and institutions in the fields of science, education, culture, and the arts should make their full contribution to the activity and strength of the socialist ideological front. Communists should resolutely struggle against any phenomena of political misuse of cultural creativity. It is also necessary to tighten responsibility with regard to those Communists who make possible the publication in the information media and in the public of attitudes directed against the basic orientations and values of our society.

18. Political enemies of all kinds and ideological adversaries of socialist self-management exploit our shortcomings and difficulties in society and in particular the absence of organized ideopolitical activity and organize various activities whose aim is to threaten socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and our federal order and defense system. They aggressively keep repeating numerous theses about the undemocratic character of the LC. They try to deny the historical, ideological, and ethical values and goals of our socialist society, offering a variety of conservative, bourgeois and dogmatic ideological and political concepts in the political and socioeconomic fields.

The focus and the toughest mainstay for the rallying of all these forces in our society is nationalism, hence our irreconcilability to socialism in all environments and the need to struggle against it uncompromisingly and in quite concrete a manner, because the whole of our concept of living together in our socialist, self-managing Federal Yugoslavia is built on the unity of class and national interests. In this respect, the LC is under a permanent obligation to cultivate the ability in its own ranks to distinguish between the affirmation of one's national feelings and the manifestation of various forms of nationalism.

The nationalist, clericalist, pseudo-liberalist and other backward views should be unmasked with arguments [passage indistinct] radical changes and improvement in the contents and methods of work. Activity for activity's sake and formalized activity, meetings spent reiterating well-known orientations, routine-type work, and dry enumeration of statutory obligations lead nowhere. The work of every member of the LC should be assessed in accordance with his activity in the course of the processes of self-managing and delegate decisionmaking in self-managing organs, local communities, the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, youth and other organizations, citizen's associations, and public speaking platforms. The time in which we live and the work we do demand that changes be made in that respect too, call for convincing activity among the people and creativity and discipline in the implementation of the policy which is systematically, democratically, and persistently changing our basic orientation into living reality.

This is directly linked with the need to prepare the municipal committees of the LC for the carrying out of their responsible tasks, so that they should be able to beas successful as possible in encouraging initiative and work in basic organizations and thus contribute to the unity of their activity.

In developing sociopolitical activity and ideological work the basic organizations and organs of the LC must also make more use of other forms of ideopolitical activity and of organizing Communists for action. [passage not received]

20. To strengthen the working class structure, contents and method of activity of the LC is a lasting obligation and need of the organs and basic organizations of the LC and the prerequisite to implement their role and tasks. This is a political issue of fundamental significance and not some kind of aspiration to improve the percentages. To ensure the workers' majority in the LC and the greater number of workers in LC organs calls for the consistent implementationof the program orientations and of the policy and criteria laid down by the LCY concerning admission to the LC membership, and this means admission of a greater number of workers, primarily from the sphere of material production, of farmers and other creative workers, in particular of young people and women, from the ranks of all nations and nationalities and preventing the admission of anybody whosoever from selfish, careerist and similar motives.

The basic organizations and leaderships of the LC should examine in detail why these orientations are not being implemented. Especially today, when we are waging a great struggle to overcome the difficulties and to achieve further progress, a workers' majority in the LC is necessary in order that the interests and the vital needs of the working class to implement the program of socialist self-managing transformation of our society exert a decisive influence on LC policies and attitudes. Workers will always be awake to that which is in the real interest of the working class and socialism and they will therefore unreservedly support all initiatives of the LC which will express their immediate and historical interests. In this way, the LC will be more resistant to the influence of alien ideologies and interests in its own ranks and in society.

21. Consistent respect for and the implementation of the principles of the cadre policy in the LCY is the lasting obligation of all organs and organizations of the LC. An end should be put to weaknesses in the procedure of nominating and electing candidates, to the activity of informal groups, to decisionmaking by narrow circles, to pretensions at leadership and similar phenomena which are incompatible with relations in the LCY which compromise the cadre policy of the LCY, which lead to careerism and which cause disatisfaction and justified criticisms. Ability, ideopolitical orientation, results of work and moral values are the essential criteria of the cadre policy and practice. The attitude of putting forward in a democratic procedure a greater number of candidates for electoral functions should also be practiced. There can be no continuity in the cadre policy in the LC if the principles of constant change and rotation of cadres is not implemented, if reelection is not restricted, if public appraisal and verification of the work of party officials is not introduced and if the introductionof new cadres from material production and science and their return to their jobs is not ensured and if there is no systematic rejuvenation of cadre structures and deprofessionalization of cadres in carrying out functions in the LCY.

Due to the significance for the relations in the LC as a whole and due to diverse concepts and practice, the LCY Central Committee should critically analyze and promote, by the time that the 13th LCY Congress comes round, the experiences culled so far in implementing the principles of collective work and responsibility.

Within this framework the experiences and differences regarding the duration of the mandate in individual spheres should be particularly subjected to an analysis.

22. All basic organizations and organs of the LC should immediately set in train and organize a broad and thorough debate by proceeding from these proposed conclusions, from the analysis of the implementation of the leading role of the LCY and strengthening of its ideological and action unity, and from the introductory report and debate at the 13th LCY Central Committee session, and to assess on this basis their work and determine the action programs and immediate tasks as well as to move the membership and all social forces to embark on offensive action.

The LCY Central Committee calls upon the membership, organizations and leaderships of the LC to make a critical assessment in this debate of the general social trends and development and to reexamine their attitude to the tasks which stem from the attitudes of the 12th LCY Congress, the Long-Term Economic Stabiliation Program and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee. It is the Communists' duty to search and find concrete solutions in their own environment and in society as a whole and to mobilize, organize, and direct the self-managing and sociopolitical activity of the working class and broadest masses of the working people toward the resolution of these solutions. [as received]

The LC must continuously monitor the way the stabilization program is being implemented and which of its orientations receive full affirmation in life and contribute to increasing labor productivity and the development of self-managing socioeconomic and political relations. Everything which shows itself in practice to be insufficiently stimulating for material and social progress should be supplemented and altered in good time.

With the debate on the proposed conclusions and the concrete action, the entire LCY structure will make a creative contribution to the verification, working out and formulation of proposed conclusions and the LC policy in the present stage of the development by investing collective efforts in finding the most appropriate answers to questions which the proposed conclusions raise as well as to other questions imposed by actual practice.

This broad debate should proceed amidst a comprehensive mobilization of the LC and all sociailist forces of our society and amidst resolve to make a change, through resolute, efficient, and united action, in the activity concerned with the resolving of topical social problems, as well as to have all institutions and organizations of our society carrying out their affairs in a responsible manner. This will contribute to successful preparations for the 13th LCY Congress.

In summing up the results of these activities, the LCY Central Committee will, on the basis of the attitudes, views and proposals in the debate, adopt the conclusions by the end of the year.

We live and work in fairly difficult and complex conditions marked by economic difficulties in the countries and worsened circumstances in international economic and political relations. We face illiquidity in the country and large financial obligations to other countries, price increases and pressure on the standard of living of the working people and citizens, problems in employment, in particular of the young. We are aware of the fact, however, that merely to note what the situation is like and in particular to dramatize it does not lead to a sure way out of these difficulties. All this calls for more work and even for self-sacrifices. To implement the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program implies the activation of all society's potentials and powerful reliance on our own resources.

This will lead Yugoslav socialist society along the road of a stable socioeconomic development on foundations of socialist self-management, strengthen its material power and the democratic values of our system as well as consolidate our stable and independent international position. Our forces are greater than it is thought at times and greater than some indices taken out of context indicate. We have a working class which has developed in the struggle for socialist self-management as its own vital orientation and young people who see their future in the goals of this struggle; we have well-developed organized forces of socialist awareness and action; we have extensive scientific potentials and modern production equipment; we enjoy the reputation of an active and consistent fighter for equitable relations among peoples and states. Hence, we have sure mainstays and powerful levers of development.

Constant enhancement of the capabilities of the LC members, strengthening of LC ideological activity and its activity to act, consistency of Communists in the struggle for the interests of the working class, equality and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities are the pressing prerequisites for a successful implementation of the goals we are striving to achieve. The LCY has created prospects for further development of our revolution. At this juncture it has to organize its ranks and include them in the action to facilitate successful carrying out of the established goals and tasks. The debate and actions raised at the 13th LCY Central Committee session should fully contribute to all this.

The trust, but also serious warnings and demands, by the working class and working people impart enormous stimulus for further development of socialist self-management and put the Communists under the obligation to carry out their tasks at this stage of our revolution, too, and to stay ideologically and politically united and responsible in their activity. To change the trends of our social and economic life, and to find a quick way out of our difficulties and the present situation and to create sound prospects for our further development we shall have to eliminate more resolutely the shortcomings within our own ranks, to change the conscience and behavior of the Communists and secure their increased activity among working people and together with them.

FEDERAL CHAMBER ADOPTS FINAL BUDGET FOR 1983

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Federal Assembly Federal Chamber met today for the last time before the summer recess. The chamber adopted the final accounts of the federal budget for 1983 and a document -- in fact a view of this assembly house -- on the implementation of the policy of socioeconomic development in 1984 including an assessment of the development possibilities in 1985. The Federal Chamber noted that the overall size of the federal budget for 1983, after the rebalance, was set at the 261.6 billion dinar figure. The surplus amounting to 572 million dinars has also been established.

At the beginning of the session today Miodrag Trifunovic, a delegate from Serbia in this assembly house, asked to be given the floor to comment on a part of the statement by Nebi Gasi, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosov; during his conversation with a delegation of the Croat Assembly. In this part of his statement, transmitted in the Belgrade TV Third Newsreel on 1 July, Nebi Gasi for all intents and purposes tried to disqualify the delegates who had brought up the question of the banners of the nationalities by saying: "Who are the people who are asking these questions" without mentioning our names, but it is obvious that he was thinking of us because this was said 3 days after our question, as reported by the press, "why should the banner of the Albanian nationality present a problem," these things are discussed at length, etc.

We wonder what is behind it. What sort of disqualifications and insinuations are they when Comrade Nebi Gasi knows that the question was brought up by the delegates in the Federal Chamber, when he knows that they asked the question in connection with the intiative made by a republican assembly -- in this case by the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, which also includes the delegates from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina -- and unanimously approved by the Assembly of the SR of Serbia.

No doubt such statements cause harm and arouse confusion in our public because we, as delegates in the Federal Chamber, were entitled to ask these questions and no one can in any way prevent us from responsibly discharging our delegate function and moreover we shall not allow anyone to do so, stressed Trifunovic.

In conclusion, who should be criticized? Should we be criticized because as delegates we are trying at long last to get this initiative into routine assembly procedure, which must be done according to the Federal Chamber Constitution and standing orders, or should those be criticized who in any way oppose this, said Trifunovic.

Vlado Klemencic, member of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and federal secretary for finance, spoke about the first point on the agenda concerning important issues relating to the proposed final account of the budget of the federation and the accompanying documents. He stressed that in recent years efforts had been made to ensure that in this sphere the policy of economic stabilization should also prevail, which meant that the planned growth in the budget was put at only 23.3 percent. During the year, however, this calculation proved to be inadequate, primarily because of the growth of prices and the slide of the dinar. As a result revenue from trade turnover taxes grow by 31 percent instead of 25 percent, and revenue from customs duty and import duty increased by 57 percent in comparison with 1982. The contributions from the republics and provinces to the federation budget increased 21 percent. As a result an additional 16.3 billion dinars went into the budget's coffers.

This means that the means have been made available for covering certain priority needs: the costs of veterans' invalid benefits, the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army, the work of the federal organs, additional funds for Kosovo, and so on. The overall budget expenditure had thus grown by 31.7 percent in comparison with 1982. However, not even this was enough to cover all the legal commitments toward the beneficiaries of these funds.

According to the final account 527 million dinars were left undistributed, and according to a proposal by the FEC 44 million dinars should be given to the service for entertainment premises in SFRY representative offices; 50 million dinars to the FEC; 150 million dinars to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs; 181 million dinars to the Federal Administration for Flight Control; and 147 million dinars to the Federal Administration for Customs Duty.

The chamber then adopted the conclusions put forward by the committee for the Federation Budget, which meant that the proposed final account of the federation budget for 1983 was adopted. The delegates also agreed with the distribution of the surplus revenue which had been established and required the FEC to bring the regulation contained in Article 37 of the law on financing the federation into line with practice. This regulation envisages that the surplus should be distributed by a rebalancing of the budget for the year which has just ended, but this has not been done for years.

Continuing the session a discussion was held on the FEC's report on the implementation of the socioeconomic development policy last year and this year and on the assessments of development possibilities in 1985. The object of the discussion is that a view on this topic be forwarded to the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

The first participant in the debate was Vehbija Hajradini. He made the assessment that the positive production and export results attained during the past period this year represent significant encouragement, but he warned that a great deal of effort must still be invested to ensure that this incipient trend is continued in the months ahead.

Having noted that the results attained during the most recent period of this year in many sectors are encouraging, delegate Ljubica Miksa mainly dealt with what still does not provide grounds for satisfaction. She drew attention, among other things, to the problem of rising prices, to a fall in employees standard of living, and to employment difficulties.

The employment problem remains one of the most acute, although the results that have been attained cannot be underestimated at all, she said. However, the fact remains that the structure of unemployed people is very unsatisfactory because an increasing number of young people with professional qualifications are included among those waiting for a job.

Batric Jovanovic stressed that it is surprising that the problem of curbing inflation is considered to be of secondary importance in this document. Just as high temperature is an indication that a person is ill, so the high rate of inflation is indicative of an unhealthy situation in the economy. All the documents presented so far, and they include the May analysis recently discussed, say that to curb the inflation is an essential condition for implementing the stabilization program. However, such a formulation is not contained in this report. Not a single word says that the highest-ever postwar inflation, such as the one recorded last year, has been brought about by major government miscalculations. We must wonder, Jovanovic said, why the FEC last year permitted such inflation to occur when it had been established that virtually 80 percent of prices had been increased illegally.

Talking about the agreement we have made with the IMF, Jovanovic censured the government for doing so without the presence of our public. If the talks had been public we would perhaps not have accepted some of the conditions which harmed our economy. The FEC must come before the assembly with a long-term program of debt repayment.

Slavica Markovic said that the report lacked a review of the position of loss-making organizations and their fate in the coming period. Associated labor expected this problem to be approached with greater selectivity and attempts to be made to differentiate between losses which were the result of poor work and those which were the result of objective circumstances. In addition to this, businessmen were also disappointed by the fact that so far the government has done almost nothing to remove the burdens from the productive work organizations, although this had been envisaged by the first phase of the stabilization program. As to personal incomes, I must stress that it is intolerable that incomes should rise by 51 percent in the first 3 months of this year and that we should now restrict the economy's income, said Slavica Markovic.

Vladimir Vukmirovic said that optimistic conclusions could be drawn from the report. However, in his view this is because the achieved results have been overestimated. It is true that there were positive results, but it is also true that the negative trends are continuing.

If more attention had been devoted in the report to the causes of the unfavorable economic trends, it would certainly have been a more objective and useful analysis, he said.

Dusan Pekic thought the May analysis and the FEC's report were not in fact analyses as they only provided figures. Although it is quite clear from those figures that we are stagnating, and even moving backward, nothing more than this had been said and the causes of the situation were not gone into. I must say, he said, that the assembly cannot carry out its constitutional function if it has to work with such superficial material.

Delegate Zarija Martinovic sees the essence of our current problems in the absence of three vital elements: a unified plan for the whole country; a unified market; and better work and greater responsibility. There can be no success in the struggle for the realization of economic stabilization, he stressed, unless there is a change in this resepct.

Cedomil Stanicic devoted most of his speech to the quite considerable excess of administration, which shackles the economy. This, he said, prevents associated labor from being more enterprising and running business risks without which success is often impossible.

Stevo Stanivukovic, the last speaker in the discussion today, expressed the view that we have more restrictive measures than incentives.

Speaking to Federal Chamber delegates about the report on the basic problems experienced in protecting social property, Ivica Cacic, federal social attorney of self-management, stressed that this material does not represent a deep analysis of the causes and consequences of offences against this property. Consequently, he said, this material can only serve as a basis for a broader discussion in which we should define specific tasks to ensure the fullest possible realization of the function of social property.

The causes of offenses against social property, Cacic said, can be divided into three groups. First, workers do not yet administer socially-owned resources. The separation of resources from workers in the basic organizations and the use of these resources without reference to the workers' direct interests is the basic reason for the low effectiveness of their involvement. Second, social awareness, the development of science and the development of the judicial-political system are to a considerable extent lagging behind the constitutional view of the social function of social property. Third, the institutions which, according to the Constitution, should protect social property have failed to perform this function fully.

The alienation of the working class and working people from the administration of a considerable part of social accumulation is leading to a passive and even irresponsible attitude to social property. All this, Cacic stressed, leads to a lagging behind of awareness and neglect of socialist ethics.

For the working people social property is something that is alien, something which belongs to the state and should be protected by state organs.

The threat to social property has assumed the character of a continuing process. An illogical relationship has been established between those who are employed and feel relatively safe and those who are unemployed and have no opportunity to realize their right to work with social resources. In this way, Cacic said, the basic function of social property has been called into question. Though these problems are encountered every day in practical work, so far science has not paid enough attention to them.

Finally, Cacic said, I may say with full responsibility that sociopolitical communities, especially those in municipalities, rarely consider the rate of realization of the social function of social property. I think that we should reach the conclusion that all those to whom the Constitution has given the task of protecting social property have the duty to subject the realization of their function to a comprehensive analysis.

The conclusion drawn in the introductory report that social property was insufficiently protected was also reiterated by delegates in their speeches during the discussion. Delegate Ivica Lovric noted inter alia that the question of social property had not yet been adequately studied despite its class importance.

The need to change the present, unfavorable attitude to property was also underlined by Vanco Nikolovski. This delegate said that the protection of social property was the central question of economic stabilization and the further deveopment of the socioeconomic system.

Janko Pucnik drew attention to the neglect of the question of the ethical attitude to social property which was yet another cause of the threat to it.

Momcilo Trajkovic drew attention to the illusion that social property was well protected, because it was referred to in several places in the Constitution, federal and other laws, LCY documents, and documents of other sociopolitical organizations, which, however, were not consistently adhered to, Trajkovic stressed, advocating a special effort to study such phenomena as failed investments, duplication of capacities, losses caused by irresponsible behavior and so forth.

Zvonko Spoljar said that the problem of protecting social property should be viewed as a whole, and not only from the property point of view. The solution to this complex question could not be found in increased repression by the state, but primarily in the development of self-management relations.

After the discussion, it was agreed that a working group, consisting of delegates from the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations and the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations, should prepare a draft of the appropriate conclusions on this theme by September. The draft, it was stated, would then be discussed by the chamber together with the conclusions on respect for the law and unjustified social differences, which were also discussed.

At the end of its discussion on the May analysis the chamber adopted the standpoint that the FEC report contained the necessary realistic assessments, data, and indexes for perceiving the essential trends in the realization of the policy of socioeconomic development.

Endorsing the assessments and basic orientations contained in the FEC report and the analysis, the chamber also stressed that in many respects these documents are oriented toward a review of the situation with largely quantitative assessments and without profound analysis of the most important sectors in social reproduction or of the qualitative elements of economic activity.

The chamber pointed in particular to the fact that there were no replies to the question of why in practice the essential orientations of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program had been departed from, and of where the causes for the sluggishness and vacillation in changing certain mechanisms in the economic system lie.

Stressing the importance of the positive results achieved, the chamber warned that they should not be exaggerated and that unrealistic optimism should not be fueled by them, as certain negative trends have still not been halted. The results achieved have not yet been stabilized or consolidated as a permanent tendency and many problems have become more serious.

For this reason it is necessary to step up our efforts and take well-directed action, not only to consolidate the positive trends and tendencies but also to more resolutely resolve the accumulated problems in the economy and society.

On this occasion too the Federal Chamber pointed out that the slowing down of the implementation of the first phase of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program could have consequences which would not only cancel out the initial results achieved but also place a question mark over the successful realization of tasks in the overall stabilization policy.

The chamber was of the opinion that a program for ridding the country of its debts should be drawn up and that measures should be taken to ensure that production conditions in the coming year should be known at the start of the last quarter of the current year.

The chamber noted that not all measures on removing the causes of inflation have been taken and that as a result the rise in prices this year was in excess of the level set by the projection on the agreed prices policy. Disparities in prices are hampering the application of economic criteria in the operation of the economy and in the earning and distribution of income and also, therefore, greater motivation to work better and more productively. The present situation must be changed resolutely and the negative trends in price increases and the falling value of the dinar must be halted because the consequences of such trends are not only of economic but also social and political proportions. For this reason the chamber insisted on the faster preparation of a law on the social control of prices.

The realization of the basic tasks in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program and the surmounting of the existing economic instability is only possible by means of strengthening reporduction links, pooling labor and means, and strengthening the processes of integration in the economy. On this basis autarchic development and the practice of regional isolation will be made impossible, the document states.

The Federal Chamber points to the problem of the drop in real personal incomes and the fall in the standard of living of the broadest strata of the population, as well as the difficulties which a considerable number of workers will face when the regulations restricting increase in personal incomes in organizations which operate at a loss or which do not meet their obligations are applied. The problems of the standard of living cannot be resolved merely with social policy but above all through the policy of acquiring and distributing personal incomes according to work and the results of work, on the basis of increase in production and productivity.

In view of the fact that the problem of employment, in particular of young and trained workers, is becoming more and more acute, the chamber will, as a signatory of the social agreement on employment, work toward the problem starting to be resolved by well thought-out actions and measures on the basis of special programs.

In particular, from the point of view of employment, programs for the development of the artisan craft industry and for higher employment in agriculture should be worked out.

All views, proposals, and suggestions expressed at the sessions of the chamber's working bodies and at the session of the chamber will be submitted to the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and the FEC.

The Federal Chamber then discussed the proposed law on associated labor courts. On behalf of the Committee for Justice of the Federal Assembly's Federal Chamber, the proposer of the law, the essence of the law was explained to the delegates by Eva Naglic. She stressed that the procedure of adopting the law on associated labor courts had been going on since 1982 when the Federal Chamber adopted the draft law. At that time, the chamber decided that, in view of the exceptional significance of this document, the draft should be submitted to a public debate by associated labor.

The public debate lasted 9 months. The results of the debate in collectives throughout the country were compiled by the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia. It has transpired, Eva Naglic said, that workers do not agree with some of the basic premises of the draft. This refers above all to the provision about courts having to be founded in all self-managing work organizations and other self-managing organizations. Workers believed that it would not be a good thing to judge one another.

The Committee for Justice accepted this suggestion by associated labor, and it was decided that this provision be thrown out of the proposed law. Regarding the provision about procedures before associated labor courts, they have been thrown out of this proposal because a special law on procedure before these courts is being prepared. This proposed law is to be completed by 1 May next year at the latest, when it will be submitted to the Federal Chamber.

Ivan Ginovski, member of the Committee for Justice, believed that this proposed law was completely in contradiction with the Yugoslav Constitution. In his words, the Constitution envisaged that the judiciary should pass more and more into the hands of the working class. In this connection, the assembly has the obligation not to accept this law if it does not contain the provision about courts being formed in all work organizations.

Prompted by Ginovski's statement, Dr Miodrag Trifunovic, also a delegate at the Committee for Justice, asked to speak. He stressed that assertions about this proposed law not being in line with the Constitution are without foundation.

Following Trifunovic's statement, Slobodanka Veskovic asked to speak. She acquainted the delegates with the fact that the Yugoslav Assembly's Legislative and Legal Commission had discussed three times the proposed law on courts of associated labor and that it had concluded that it is entirely in line with the SFRY Constitution. Thus comments on the proposed law by Ivan Ginovski could not be taken into consideration.

Ivan Ginovski again asked to speak. He said that Miodrag Trifunovic's arguments had not convinced him that he was wrong and that he had counterarguments.

When Chairman Stojan Bjelajac said that according to the standing order, the Committee for Justice need not have asked for the chamber's view, Ivan Ginovski withdrew his amendments. Then Dusan Pekic asked to speak. He requested that the debate on the law be postponed and that the Constitutional Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly should examine the entire case. Voting took place, but then it was noted that there were not enough delegates in the hall. Of the 106 delegates present, 66 were against Pekic's proposal, 37 backed the proposal, and 3 abstained. Since over 110 delegates are required for a quorum, the chairman adjourned the session until all delegates had gathered.

After a recess of some 20 minutes the session resumed and the secretary of the chamber made a roll call. It transpired that of the 220 Federal Chamber delegates, 101 were absent. This meant that there was a quorum and that the chamber could resume its work.

The chairman again put Dusan Pekic's proposal to the vote, and this time 40 delegates voted for it, 76 against, and 3 abstained again. The chamber then adopted the Law on Courts of Associated Labor by majority vote. Thus, this business came to a stormy end after 4 years.

At the end of the session and the adoption of the Law on Courts of Associated Labor, the Federal Chamber adopted the Report on the Work of the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Organization of the Federal Administration in 1983; the report on the implementation of the law on units of measure and standards and of the law controlling the sale of precious metals; and reports on official visits by SFRY Assembly delegations to the Republic of Malta and the Republic of Cyprus.

The chamber adopted the proposal that the SFRY Assembly be the signatory of the social agreement on joint foundations and criteria for determining personal incomes and other receipts and payments of officials in organs of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations. The agreement will be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber.

BILIC SPEAKS ON PARTY UNITY, ROLE OF LCY

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[Text] On the occasion of the publicizing of the proposal of conclusions of the 13th LCY Plenum, which will be submitted to a general party discussion, Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has given the following statement to Belgrade Radio and Television:

[Begin Bilic recording] Well, our public will be acquainted with the conclusions. We have approached them from two standpoints: first, to confirm the basic course of the development of our society on the principles of socialist self-management, and second, that all progressive and democratic forces of this society should take part in the elaboration of this, so that these principles can be realized as completely as possible. Therefore, everything that life confirms in the course of economic stabilization and the development of socialism and self-management should be stimulated and developed. In this respect, the LC and all social institutions should now create a program of action. Everything that life fails to confirm, that fails to ensure the development of self-management and of production forces and the productivity of society should be changed, completed, perfected. Therefore, the conclusions are not a text for reading only, but should be a motive, a stimulus for a general [word indistinct] creative, intellectual elaboration of the program of socialism and self-management, and a mobilization as well of both the LC and the million-fold masses, especially of the workers class and youth for the realization of this policy -- to change both the manner of production that has given negative results in some places and the way of life and behavior where it has been shown to be negative.

I think that, on the basis of these conclusions and the stabilization program, it is important that every social institution -- with Communists providing the initiative for this -- makes a program of action the kind of role the LC plays there. [sentence as heard]

Another thing I believe is important is that it is only through the unity of the LC that this can be ensured. Then there is the role of Communists in the basic organization and the society as a whole, because the struggle is being fought within the people after all; therefore, the role of the basic organizations and of Communists is important there.

In order to be able to play their role today, in this situation, they have to be morally strong and up to the tasks and the moral value that our revolution has achieved. This means to fight for democratic, free, human, and humane relations, which are also ethical, and that every Communist should be able and responsible to come before this class and people with much strength and dignity for [word indistinct] of the tasks in the present stage of the revolution. [end recording]

NO PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS YET AT PAY GROWTH CUTS

AU111413 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Excerpt] There can be no postponement in implementing the law which restricts the growth of personal incomes this year, it was said in talks in the SAWPY Federal Conference with representatives of interested organs and organizations in the federation, although the measure will hit many. It is calculated that the law will affect about 260,000 people employed in the collectives that did not operate well last year, and about 30 to 40 percent of those employed in work organizations that do not pay their bills regularly.

It was pointed out that the law emanated from the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and that there is no basis for the speculations according to which the law is a consequence of direct pressure and demands by the IMF. At any rate, the workers accept the letter and the spirit of the law. Although the law will affect personal incomes which have been falling in real terms for a long time, there have been no protest demonstrations so far. Workers insist, however, that the law be applied in every community, in every collective, and in all the work organizations, from the economy up to the federation.

It can certainly be expected that the law negatively affects the workers' standard of living which is threatened anyhow, especially in the collectives that are insolvent [nelikvidan], but proper sociopolitical action is, therefore, needed more than ever, in specific cases and in every community separately.

It is calculated that the law restricting the growth of personal incomes this year will affect about 260,000 workers employed in collectives which concluded last year with losses, and about 30 to 40 percent of those employed in the organizations which now do not pay their debts regularly.

It is estimated that the restriction on the growth of personal incomes because of losses will affect 52,000 employed in Serbia, somewhat over 50,000 in Croatia, 30,000 workers in Macedonia, 36,000 in Kosovo, 44,000 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, about 12,600 in Montenegro, 15,000 in Slovania, and about 20,000 workers in Vojvodina.

As was said at the meeting in the SAWPY Federal Conference which discussed the implementation of this law, in May 98,000 employed received reduced personal incomes and about 10,000 the guaranteed minimum. Those that will have to be very careful about the growth of personal incomes as of 1 July, considering that they are insolvent, will include about 60 percent of the basic organizations of associated labor in our country, but they are not equally distributed. It is estimated that 10 percent of the workers will be "endangered" in Slovenia, 25 percent in Vojvodina, and as many as 59 percent in Croatia, for instance.

CHAMBER ACKNOWLEDGES KOSOVO DELEGATE RESIGNATION

LD111841 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 11 Jul 84

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG) -- The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today acknowledged the resignation submitted by Vehted Spahiu, delegate from Kosovo.

In his resignation, which was forwarded to the chamber by the Kosovo SAWP Conference, delegate Spahiu stressed that he was resigning because of deterioration in his health which prevented him from traveling often enough and he was not able to keep up with the volume and frequency of the material which he received. Consequently his activity as a delegate had declined. He was also resigning because of the Orahovac LC Municipal Committee Presidium's attitude.

Stojan Bjelajac, president of the Federal Chamber, noted that the mandate of delegate Vehted Spahiu ends effective today.

MACEDONIAN NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETS

LD111639 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 11 Jul 84

[Text] Skopje, 11 Jul (TANJUG) -- The municipal assemblies and their organs defense preparations and the use of financial resources for the needs of all-people's defense were the subjects of today's session of the Council for National Defense of the Macedonian Presidency. In defense organization and the municipalities preparations good results were reportedly achieved, particularly regarding settling all-people's defense relations and preparations to function in case of war. However, the need for more consistent involvement in activities, preparations and further training by exercises and other forms of training was pointed out.

BRIEFS

PRC HEALTH PACT -- Belgrade, July 7 (TANJUG) -- An agreement was signed in Belgrade today, Saturday, between Yugoslavia and China on cooperation in the field of health, medical science and pharmacy. On behalf of the two countries, the agreement was signed by Chairman of the Yugoslav Federal Committee for Labour, Health and Social Security Dr Djordje Jakovljevic, and Chinese Minister of Public Health Cui Yueli. Under the agreement, Yugoslavia and China will establish cooperation in the fields of elementary health care, personnel training, rehabilitation, acupuncture, the use of medicinal herbs, the production of medicaments and others. The Yugoslav side expressed great interest in the combination of traditional and modern medicine, being developed by China. The Chinese side proposed to Yugoslavia, in view of its technological possibilities, to accept the production of the Chinese medicament for treating malaria, which could be of exceptional importance to developing countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1119 GMT 7 Jul LD]

ADMIRALS PROMOTED -- Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG) -- By the decree of the Presidency of the SFRY Vice Admiral Tihomir Vilovic has been promoted outside the routine promotion schedule to the rank of admiral and Rear Admiral Zvonimir Kostic to the rank of vice admiral. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 11 Jul 84 LD]